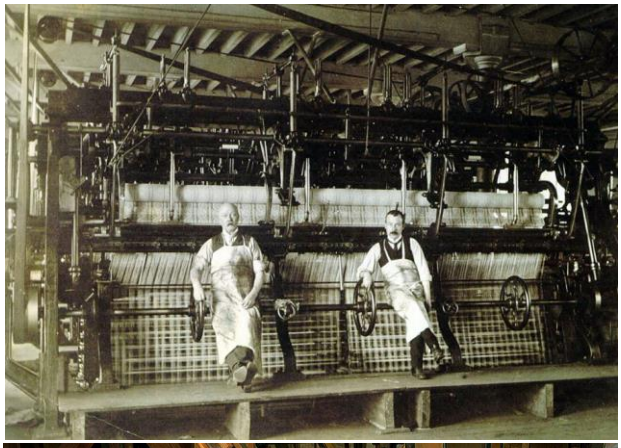

LETTERS OF LACE AND STONES

Oakeys and Sirrines, Two Families Joined and Separated by Pioneering and Polygamy

ABSTRACT

A true story of two Mormon Pioneer families based on a trove of 670 pioneer letters and two unpublished journals collected by Sarah Oakey Sirrine.

Faithful, obedient 19th century Mormons responding to calls to colonization and polygamy were prone to painful family separations.

By Kim Bateman

Letters of Lace and Stones:

Oakeys and Sirrines, Two Families Joined and Separated by Pioneering and Polygamy

By Kim A. Bateman

November, 2018

Introduction

My mother is 98 years old and has progressing dementia. About five years ago she pulled from the bottom shelf of the stuffed bookcase in her bedroom a swollen, cobwebbed black three-ring binder filled with letters in sheet protectors. She said, "I want you to take care of these for me." It held unsorted pioneer letters dating back 150 years, maybe a hundred of them. I could see instantly that they were a treasure. They had been collected, saved, added to, and passed on beginning with my mother's mother's mother's mother, Mary Cooper Oakey, through every single female person on the lowest branch of my horizontal family tree, to me. No, I'm not a female.

I took them home and read and catalogued them before donating them to the BYU library where they reside with the Joseph Smith Papers, early editions of the Book of Mormon, and other 19th century treasures. They have been scanned to permit easy online search. I thought that I had finished my job.

Then we discovered another volume, and then a third, and a pioneer journal, and many other precious mementos such as event tickets, deeds, and personal notes.

Later my sister Kathy noticed two large storage drawers beneath the double bed in the guest room and opened them to find three times more letters from my mother's paternal line. I pressed her to take care of those, and they are not in this book. Actually she, being a daughter, should have by rights had the first group, too. Kathy has dutifully reviewed the Ream letters and donated them to BYU.

Then more Oakey letters turned up, first from the papers of my mother's deceased sister, Mary Ida Burgoyne, the family genealogist, who I thought should have had them all in the first place. Then my cousin Camille Foster, daughter of my mother's other sister, began finding pioneer letters in the papers gathered from my Aunt Hazel Dawn's collection after her death. Camille spent months rescuing and reading them before sending them to me along with a huge box of photographs.

While working on another project I discovered purely by chance 23 more Oakey letters on microfilm at the LD.S. Church History Library in Salt Lake City. So far I have not been able to determine who had possessed them except to be told that the donor is deceased, but I was allowed me to scan these letters, which have been essential to the book.

All in all, I have read and catalogued about 670 letters saved by these women. Soon, I hope, they will all reside safely archived and electronically searchable. But I doubt that anyone but me will ever read all of them. It would take months, a big magnifying glass, and possibly the Urim and Thummim, and this is sad, for they are a unique treasure.

So, I have written a book.

I have three reasons for doing so, in decreasing order of importance: First, I want the writers of these letters to be knowable to their descendants, my family. Second, this is history. Though an amateur writer, I hope to craft this book rigorously enough to

illuminate the history of these particular people, times, and places. Taken together and lined up around themes and timelines, these letters promise a first person view of an important historical time. Third, there is a great story here. There is a chance that people might just enjoy reading it.

Well, actually there are four. I have also written it for me. I want to close the separation between myself and my ancestral family, the writers of the letters.

At its root the book is about separation. After all, people who are not separated don't usually need to write a letter. Letters can illuminate the reasons for separation and the pain and problems it can cause. In some cases they show how separation can be constructive and how it can be overcome. Many forms of separation are represented in these letters: physical separation of married partners, missionaries separated from their families, converts separated from their families and cultures, separation by death, by disease, by religion, by church callings, by economic challenges, and by acts of nature. There is an uneasy equilibrium between coming together and separation. Often the very act of coming together in one set of relationships separates us in others. Until we are all one in a spiritual sense, separation is an ironic and unavoidable complication of coming together.

Basing a book on letters can make it hard to learn about the times when people are not separated, though in some cases enough letters from extended family members have been preserved to allow me to triangulate. To supplement, I have consulted historical sources.

I hope to show how two 19th century policies of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, colonization and polygamy, created and extended separation in these families, an unintended and perverse side effect of policies meant to gather Zion and strengthen families, to bring together the human family across all geography and all time.

Because three apostles of the 19th century Mormon Church: Charles C. Rich, George Q. Cannon, and Amasa Lyman played a great role in the lives of my ancestors, in this book they represent the role of the Church as I attempt to show how their lives intertwined on two continents during the central decade or so of the story. To provide a timeline and to supplement the letters, I have used the published diaries of Elders Cannon and Lyman as well as the excellent book on Charles C. Rich by Leonard Arrington for historical context. Two family journals were also drawn upon to provide a narrative. The first is an unpublished journal of Thomas Oakey, my great, great uncle and the oldest son of Mary Cooper Oakey and James Oakey. The second is the datebook for a single crucial year, 1878, kept by Sarah Oakey Sirrine, who is my great grandmother and the most prolific writer of letters in the collection. In addition I have employed standard genealogical research techniques including the use of the Mormon Church's grand wiki project, Family Tree, which strives to provide an enhanced pedigree of the entire world back to Adam.

These letters of ordinary people provide a private look into disruptions to their already tenuous lives. Two families from polar opposite cultures are brought together, separated,

and then linked Romeo and Juliet style by the marriage of two of their children. I have tried to understand the forces that separated them and what brought them together including natural causes such as illness and death, economic forces such as jobs, travel, and communication, and issues of faith such as missionary work, colonization, polygamy and salvation of family. The letters are the star of this show. I hope to lead you, the reader, with me through the deductive process of discovering the story, as we analyze these primary sources together.

This is a complicated saga. I have tried with mixed success to limit sidebars and my wandering by using footnotes. Many family names are confusingly repeated. For example many people were named Mary, Lucy, or James. I have tried to consistently differentiate them by employing a middle name, nickname, or initial and have provided a family tree diagram to help you to keep them straight in case I have failed to do so in the narrative. Sometimes I have been compelled to use more than one name for a single person because people use various nicknames and spellings in their letters. For example Rosina Matthews was also called Rose, Rosa, Rosie, and Rosy. Try to hang in there.

I have sprinkled the book with as many timely photos as I can. I recognize that this looks a little less academic and would make the book a lot more expensive to print. But I'm told that people like pictures. I certainly do.

Since I want the letters to carry the story as much as possible, I do not want to spoil them by too much correction of grammar and spelling. However, I have struggled enough while transcribing and trying to comprehend them to know that you would never make it through the book if you had to put as much work into them as I did—that is partly why I wrote it. It would drive you nuts. So I have improved them as I have felt necessary, and now I need to confess to you what else I have done. I've omitted parts that seem repetitive or irrelevant. Since many of the letters are devoid of any punctuation at all, I have added periods and capital letters at the beginning of sentences and capitalized the word "I." I have kept the original spelling except when improving it seemed necessary for understanding. And I've made other minor changes as the spirit moved me. Sorry. (If you want to see the original letters, about 20% of them can be found by googling the name of the writer, courtesy of the B.Y.U. library. The rest are still in process, but should be available soon.)

And for you members of the Oakey and Sirrine families, there are going to be some surprises. A lot of our family legends are not accurate. And, of course, despite my best efforts, there are probably many mistakes in this book that you will pick out. I welcome constructive feedback from you.

Finally, I must thank my wife, Linda, who has suffered my virtual absence from her life for many months as I have produced this book, while patiently enduring without context my enthusiastic announcements of each new fact and story as they turn up, and has served as my most effective and supportive copy editor. I am also indebted to my sister Kathy Peterson, my daughter Katie Jo Summers, and my cousins Camille Foster, Marie Cheever-

Surnovszky, and Carol Lynn Pearson, who have supplied letters, ideas, and encouragement throughout the effort, and especially to my mother, Helen Ream Bateman, who along with her sisters and the women before them have preserved this wonderful treasure trove.

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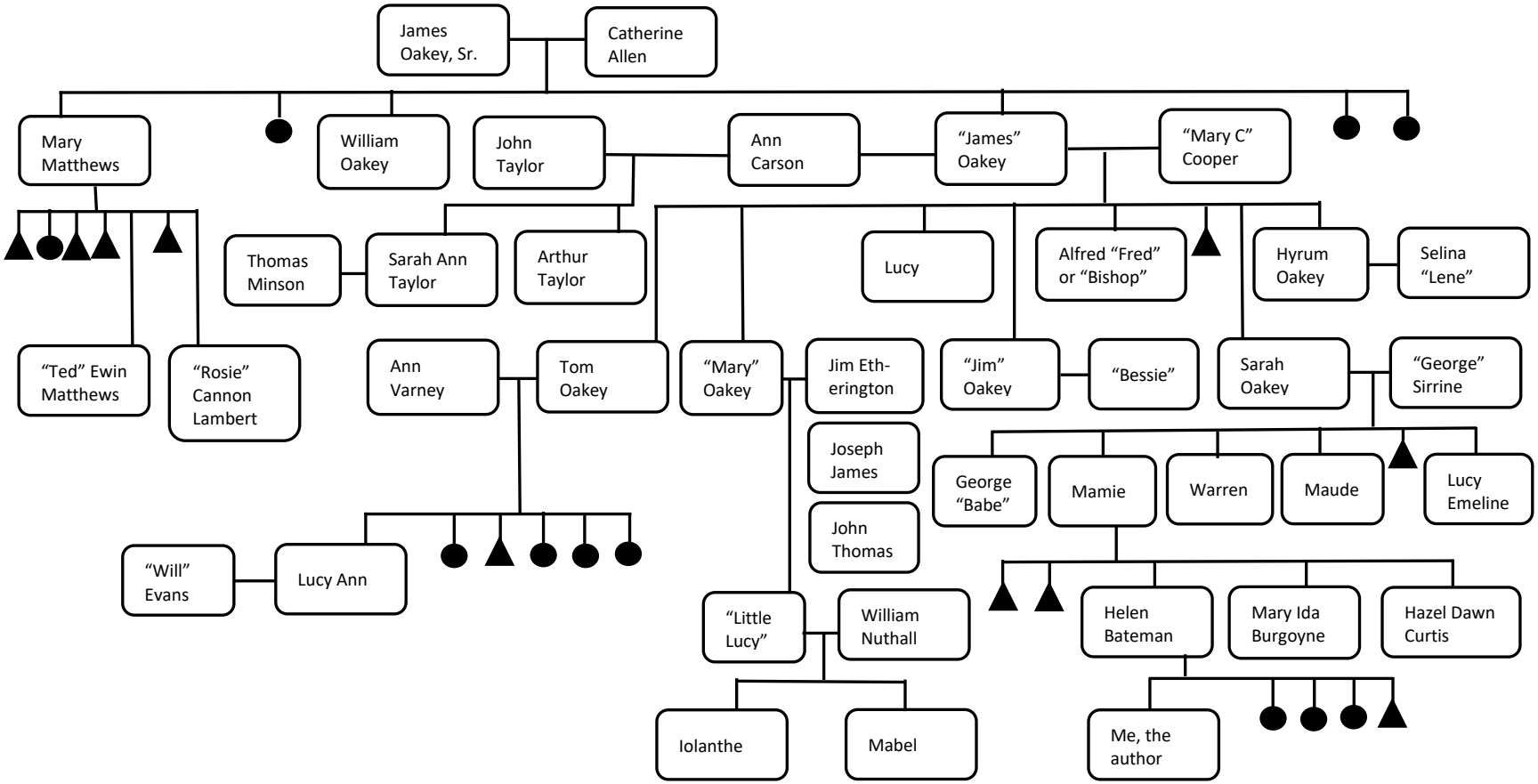
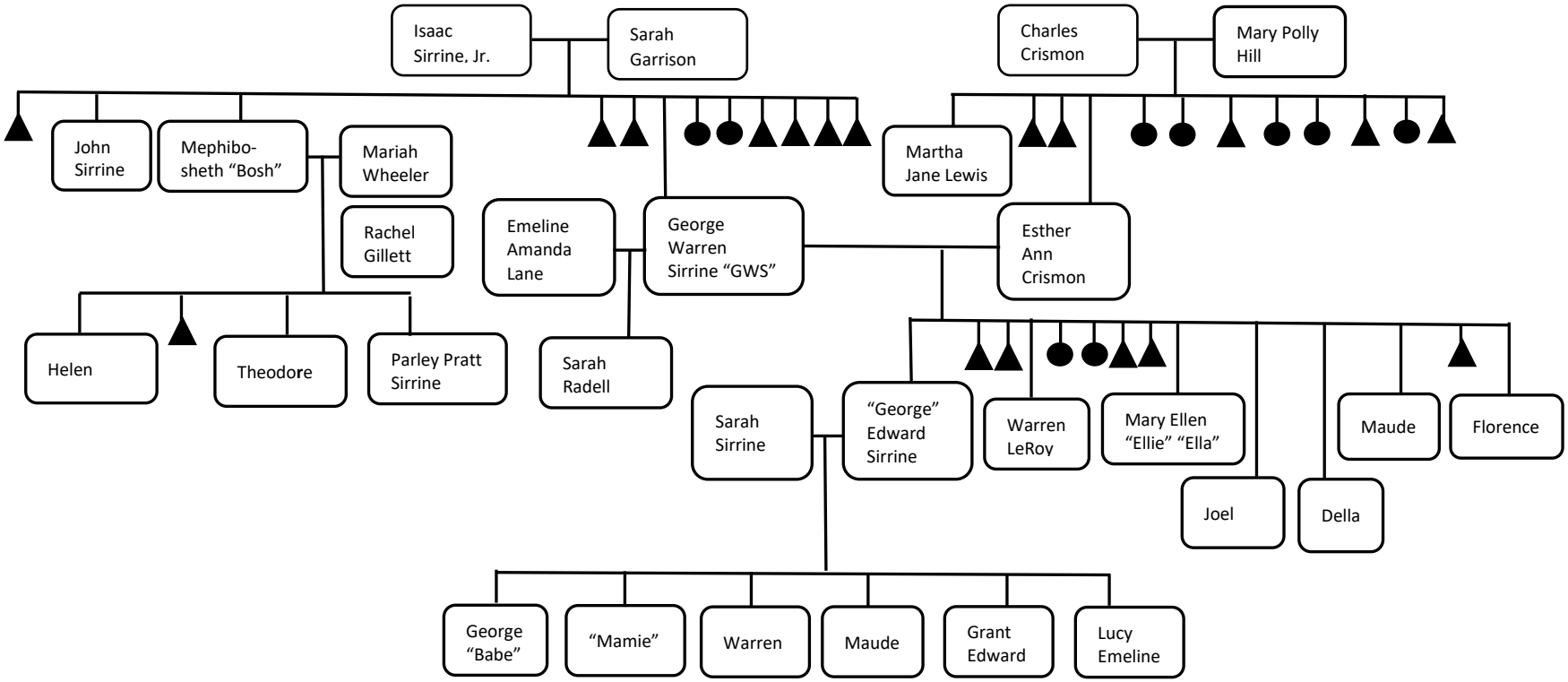


These are the Oakey characters described in the book. I have used the nicknames shown in quotation marks.

● = unmentioned female

▲ = unmentioned male



These are the Sirrine characters described in the book. I have used the nicknames shown in quotation marks.

● = unmentioned female

▲ = unmentioned male

Part I: Children of Lace and Stones

Chapter One

Babe Dies

Dear George

O how shall I tell you the sad news, our precious darling babe is dead. O George it is so hard to bear. Our little pet was taken worse Saturday night and died last night at one. He suffered so much and is so altered, his little bones are nearly through his skin. We done all we could for him but it seemed to do no good. I knew he was bad but I did not think he would go so soon. It seems to me I can't bear it at all. O George I am so lonely. What shall I do without my babe? They are gone to dig his grave. I cannot write more for my heart is breaking with grief. Write to me. Ever the same. Sarah

Nearly every letter of Sarah's reports illness and expresses sadness, but none like this.

Sarah's letters begin with the place and date in the upper right corner, but not this time. We know these would have been Dingledelle, Idaho[1] and April 15, 1884 from the death announcement of 15 month old George Alfred Sirrine.

Sarah always begins with an acknowledgement of the writer's last letter, an account of the weather, the health of those around her, and then her own, ending with her loneliness without George and expressions of hope that he will be safe, healthy, and return to her as soon as possible. Not this time.

Typically she folds an 8.5 x 11 inch sheet in the middle, turns it, fold to the left, and methodically fills the front with writing, opens it to fill left, then right, then the back. Often she continues writing vertically up and down side margins before closing and signing out upside down in a top margin, wasting not a square inch. But this letter is written in the page 2 position on the left inner surface, penned a day after a briefer note of only eight lines on the front which said:

Dear George

We got home yesterday, babe is no better. I was so anxious to get home with him. We got a long first rate for every one was real kind to us. He has been getting worse ever since we started. He is awful bad to day. I don't know what to think of him

The rest of the paper is blank, wasted. The sheet has been folded four more times leaving a creased grid of sixteen anxious little squares. Folded, the letter could be concealed in a tight fist.

[1] This town had three different names during the period covered in this book. It was called Cottonwood in 1873, but also Dingledelle as early as 1874, and then Dingle after 1891. However, the name Cottonwood was used in the 1880 census and into the mid 1890's in the name of the town's LDS branch and ward and also when referring to the Oakey neighborhood in Dingledelle. I will generally use the name Dingledelle, but use Dingle after 1892.

In the first years of their many separations Sarah and George had written sporadically and did not save all their letters, but by the time they came together for good, they had been writing weekly and saving everything. But since the birth of "babe" on January 22, 1883, there is a maddening information gap of over a year with no letters between them, no letters from anyone except three from George's teenage sisters and mother in Mesa congratulating them on the birth of his son and coaxing him to move to Mesa to be with them.

Part of this gap probably has a happy explanation: George and Sarah and babe (they never capitalized it) were likely together in Dingledelle during that time and had no need to write. They lived next door to Sarah's mother Mary C[2] and her unmarried brothers Alfred and Hyrum, who worked the homestead along with George. There were 13 households in the town listed in the 1880 census. Almost all were headed by men between 25 and 45 years of age, listing their vocation as rancher, stockman, herdsman, or laborer, with one sawyer. Most had moved from Paris beginning in 1873 to take advantage of the reedy pasture land which they could claim by homesteading. Many lived in both Dingledelle and Paris, Idaho, supporting a wife in each. This was the case with Sarah's father, James Oakey, who was living in Paris. By then they all had moved from dugouts to houses and their gardens were planted and fields were fenced. Although they probably didn't know it, the historic Krakatoa volcano had erupted on August 27, spewing ash that darkened the sky around the world, shortening the already meager growing season around Bear Lake and confirming the wisdom of the rest of the Sirrines, who had made a home in warm and fertile Arizona.

Sometime after the crops were in and the ranch was winterized George had gone to his family in Mesa, leaving Sarah and babe in the care of Mary C and the boys. He wrote from Mesa on February 7, 1884, that he was very sorry to hear that Sarah was feeling so bad and that babe was not getting better. This suggests at least one earlier letter that had gone lost and that babe's illness was already a concern. He hoped to be able to send money soon and was planting a thousand grape vines. He hoped to plow as soon as it was dry enough.

[2] To distinguish between the many people in this book named Mary, I will refer to Mary Cooper as Mary C for short throughout the book. Generally, when used without qualification, the name Mary will refer to Mary C's daughter.

There are few clues to explain what ailed babe. His photo suggests that he was healthy at around six months of age, so he probably did not die of a congenital problem nor of inadequate nursing. If he was already sick before February at twelve months of age, his terminal illness could be properly termed chronic, and so was not likely due to whooping cough, measles, or diphtheria, which were rampant. The most common cause of death today in undeveloped countries is chronic diarrhea leading to malnutrition and dehydration. This could explain babe's appearance described in Sarah's anguished letter. She was not an experienced mother and had entered life too late in the birth order to practice mothering younger siblings, but she had close and experienced back-up from her mother Mary C, who evidently had also been unable to handle George Alfred's problem.

On March 10 George wrote:

"[I am] very sorry to hear that our babe is no better. I don't know what to think about him or what to do. Sometimes I think I will sell or give away what I have got in this country and take the train and go to you."

He was able to send $50 now that the river had gone down. It had washed out the railroad tracks and stopped the mail for ten days. He suggested that if Sarah was well enough to stand the trip that she should take babe to Salt Lake to get a good doctor to wait on him. If she was willing to come to Arizona he would come for her. They could meet in San Francisco[3] on the way to get help for babe there. He added that he had planted 125 fruit trees and was thinking about making bricks. He had lost no horses yet and two were going to have colts.

The Salt Lake part happened. But George remained in Mesa.

[3] In those days the route to Phoenix was via Sacramento, San Francisco, and Los Angeles.

Chapter 2

The Lace Maker's Daughter

Paris, Nov. 25th/74

Dear Sarah

Bishop handed me your letter at Dingledell when he arrived on Friday all safe. I was glad—yet sorry to hear from you. I was glad to hear that you got there alive but sorry to hear your mother was sick, but you will take good care of her and she will soon get better. I got lonesome so I took a ride over to the Ranch. Hyrum was getting along fine "you-bet" cream biscuits hot every meal. Adam Wilcox said if Croges and I would go up to the big spring and fetch the "hornet" he [Adam] would russle a hop and get the Italian music. We did. How about that photograph?

The hop came off the night before Bishop got there. There was nobody there but Dingledellites except myself and I'll soon be one if I stay in Bear Lake as the Grimmetts "P.E." old folks and girls will move to Paris next week. Bill Passey and family moves here also. The hop went off smoothly. I might have had a good time <u>if you</u> had been there, but I guess you will come back as soon as the roads open in the spring, but that is a long time. I don't know but I will stay here <u>all</u> winter, and work in the saw mill next summer. If you should not come back in the spring not much saw mill for me, or Bear Lake either. It has been storming ever since you left. It has rained too. Mud's aful and there and here a snow in the mountains.

It is an awful stormy night the wind is blowing fearful there is more genuine mud in this valley than you ever seen. Paris is dead. I haven't been in any more "Fred Sleight" shivarees. Hyrum's letter to Old Man Nelson is on the table and Bishop is writing one to Tom and one to Jim, one to Mary, and that with this completes the this week's mail. Therefor you must excuse a short letter this time it being my first attempt at a love letter. If you will write me one longer than this I will streach the next one out plenty. With love to you and all enquiring friends,

I am as ever John H. Pomeroy

P.S. When you write tell me how you get along with—and <u>like</u> your <u>new</u> mother.

And still J. H. Pomeroy

There is much to unpack from this letter. John Pomeroy was 22 and Sarah was 20. They had known each other for nine years, both having been early settlers to Paris with their families as children through different connections to Charles C. Rich.[4]

[4] In 1849 John's father Francis Martin Pomeroy had traveled with the apostles Rich and George Q. Cannon on a wagon train to California, where he must certainly have known George's father Warren Sirrine, who was already living in San Francisco. John Haskell Pomeroy was born in Salt Lake City in 1852 and was named after his maternal grandfather Ashbell Green Haskell, who had sailed to San Francisco on the *Brooklyn* in 1847. When John was

It is hard to know when the romance between John and Sarah began, but this was their first love letter. John must have been serious, since he suggests in the letter that if Sarah doesn't come home in the spring he won't keep working at the saw mill (this is probably one of the cooperative projects of the Paris Stake) nor stay in Bear Lake. In her letter collection Sarah kept two poems in John's handwriting. The longest is titled "Twill not be Long," and discusses the Savior's redemption from suffering. The shorter one is a love poem, which I believe John himself wrote:

You may break you may ruin
The vase if you will
But the scent of the roses
Will cling to it still. J. H. Pomeroy

Sarah was born in 1854 in Nottingham, England, to a Mormon family. Her parents and older siblings had been baptized as Mormon converts, and were active members of their branch. Sarah worked as a child in the lace making industry "drawing threads," but she also attended some school. In the Nottingham census of 1861 she was listed as a scholar, as were her brother Alfred, age 11, and her eight year old cousin Rosy, whom the family had taken in after Sarah's aunt, Mary Mathews, had died. In April of 1862, when Sarah was eight, it was suddenly decided that she, her mother, and her three year old brother Hyrum would join four older siblings who were already scheduled on a chartered ship of the Perpetual Immigration Program bound for Utah. It was their haste to join the group at the last minute which led to the family legend about Sarah bravely leaving her dolls behind. Years later Sarah wrote:

I can remember packing our clothes and belongings. I can also remember saying to Father, "I'd like to take just one doll." And then I heard him say, "Sarah, you are a Latter-day Saint now, and this is your sacrifice, to leave your dolls. We all must sacrifice to go to Zion and this is your sacrifice." After tucking some of them in their beds and sitting the two large ones by their table, I found that I must say good bye. Many times on the ship I almost cried for my dolls.

---

seven years old he unexpectedly lost his four year old sister May, and then their mother Irene Haskell a month later. He was raised with his remaining seven siblings by his father's second and third wives and lived with them until his father Francis was called to settle Paris. Then his father took the wives, thirteen year old John, and his two older brothers with him, leaving his three younger sisters in the care of Grandma Ursula Haskell in Salt Lake City. His oldest sister Francelle had just gotten married to Charles Robson, and they also came to Paris for a few years where Francelle taught Sarah in grade school before moving back to Salt Lake. At some point, John's younger sister Irene moved away from her grandmother to join the Pomeroys in Paris. Interestingly, at the time of the 1870 census, Irene was living with the Oakey family—she and Sarah were the same age and probably good friends. The Oakeys had once more taken in a motherless child. Young George Edward Sirrine, Sarah's future husband, was living four houses down the road in the other direction.
In 1871 Martin Pomeroy built a lean-to onto the home of his second wife Matilda and moved Grandma Haskell and the twins to Paris to join the rest of the family. I suppose Irene may have moved home from Oakeys'at that time.

After an eventful pioneer crossing, which will be detailed later, they settled in Caseward, later Kaysville, where she was baptized at the age of ten by James Jarvis. The family lived in Caseward in a dugout for about three years before moving to Paris. Her two older sisters were not with them. Mary had declined to come to America and Lucy had died on the pioneer trail. Her father James stayed an extra year in England, earning enough to repay what he had borrowed for their crossing as well as to fund his own passage. James later took Sarah's brothers, Jim and Alfred (Fred), with him to Paris, Idaho, where they spent the terrible winter of 1864-5 preparing a home before sending for Sarah, her mother Mary C, and Hyrum, when Sarah was 11.

Not a lot is known of Sarah's early life in Kaysville or in Paris. She certainly went to school along with the other children her age. She wrote that the Paris school was a poorly constructed building where the pavilion now stands. Her second schoolteacher was Francelle Pomeroy Robson, the older sister of John, the writer of the foregoing letter. Sarah described her as "a dear, sweet teacher." Once Francelle let Sarah read her copy of Dickens' A Christmas Carol and the big book, Pilgrim's Progress. She had patted Sarah's hand and said she knew that Sarah understood them and promised that she could see all of her books one day. Sarah wrote that she really hadn't understood them, but it made her feel that she might grow up to be like Francelle (they all called her by her first name). We know that Sarah loved to read, though there was little printed material around. In her brief autobiography she told of finding a bundle of Juvenile Instructor magazines, which she considered a treasure. Her father forced her to take it to all the neighbors in order to return it to its owner. Only when none claimed it was she allowed to have it. She decided it had been sent just for her.

An interesting clue to her early education was saved with Sarah's letter collection: *The Fifth Reader of the School and Family Series* by Marcius Willson, published by Harper & Brothers in New York, 1861. Inside the front cover is inscribed, "Miss Sarah Oakey's Book, Paris, Rich County, U.T., December 17th, 1868." She would have been 14. The thick text is a collection of brief poems and essays grouped by topic beginning with elocution. The following sections address herpetology (study of reptiles), human physiology and health, botany, ichthyology (study of fishes), civil architecture (from ancient Greece to the architecture of nature), natural philosophy (natural science), geography, chemistry, geology, and ancient history, truly an eclectic grouping. Reading from this book proved a challenge for me as an adult—it would have been daunting when I was a teenager, and much different from my own early schooling.

She wrote that it was not unusual to see Indians camped on the hill to the west of Paris where the Fielding Academy was later built. They sometimes frightened her when they came begging for food. When she was sixteen she sang in the choir, which performed at socials, concerts and serenading. She attended dances in the old Kimball barn.

On September 5, 1871 in a survey commissioned to accurately establish the Utah/Idaho border, the Bear Lake community discovered to its surprise (and possibly dismay) that

Paris, Bloomington, and St. Charles were in Idaho. This was to have serious implications later during polygamy persecution.

In Sarah's letter collection was found a handwritten invitation. It was dated Wednesday the 31st without a month or year, which must have been May, 1871 or January, 1872, the only months in which Wednesday fell on the 31st during the possible time. She would have been about 15 years old. It reads:

Miss Sarah Oakey

You are respectfully invited to attend a necktie ball to be given at Paris Schoolroom Wednesday 31st.

Manager, Floor Manager: Miss Irene Pomeroy, Miss Veroqua Kimball, Mr. Walter Hage.

Irene was John's sister, who had been living with the Oakeys in 1870. Veroqua Kimball's story is even more interesting. She was a Paiute Indian of the Piede tribe in the Nevada/California desert. One story claims that she was bought with four other children out of the Indian slave trade, another has her rescued as an eight-month old baby still in a papoose board on the back of her mother, who had been killed by Mexican raiders of her tribe. Her rescuer was Thomas S. Williams, a one-time Mormon Battalion member turned wealthy merchandiser. He owned a large store where the hotel Utah was later built and was ambushed and killed by Paiutes in 1860 on a freighting trip near San Bernardino. Veroqua was raised in the Williams family in Salt Lake until his daughter Caroline married David P. Kimball in 1857 and adopted her at around age eight. They moved to Paris around 1870.

Irene Pomeroy

Veroqua Kimball

On November 21, 1872 Sarah's brother Jim married Elizabeth Sarah Davies in Ogden and moved there permanently. He was 25 and "Bessie" was 22. The Davies[5] family were early settlers of Paris who had moved to Ogden to live close to Bessie's mother's family. On April 24, Sarah's grandfather James Oakey Sr. died in Derby, England, having never accomplished his goal to join his son's family in America. In August Brigham delivered a talk in the Paris Tabernacle on polygamy, which was to change her family's life.

[5] Coincidentally, Bessie's aunt, Ruth Wickins, was married to Samuel Brown, who as a young missionary had baptized Lucy Oakey in Nottingham.

In the summer of 1873 Sarah had moved to Cottonwood, later to be named Dingledelle, with her brothers Alfred (nicknamed Fred or "Bishop") and Hyrum ages 24 and 16 respectively to claim a homestead and raise cattle. At that time only two other families lived there, the Sparks and the Grimmetts. Her parents remained in the house in Paris where her father James worked as a house carpenter, according to the census making wooden furniture.

Now, back to John's letter.

Bishop (Fred) had just returned from taking Sarah and her mother to Salt Lake, having left Hyrum alone to take care of the ranch in Dingledelle. It is not clear what made Mary C sick (she was reported in most of Sarah's letters to be sick), but it might have had something to do with the "new mother" mentioned in the postscript. Adam Wilcox[6] was a single 27 year old friend homesteading in Dingledelle.

The Grimmetts who were mentioned in the letter would have been John and his several children. After pioneering to Salt Lake City in 1855, John had returned to Missouri in 1860 where he become interested in the Reorganized LDS church, He soon returned to Cedar Fort, Utah because of the unrest in Missouri caused by the Civil War, and eventually found his way to Paris. His wife was a Passey. They moved to Dingledelle about the same time as the Oakeys in 1873, but in 1878 they sold out, resigned from the Utah Church, and moved to Lander, Wyoming with his extended family, many of whom were friends with Sarah and her brothers.

Bill Passey was assigned to be the branch president in Dingledelle and moved there with his family from Paris at about the time of the letter. He left Dingledelle for Mesa as a late arrival in late 1879.

The Fred Sleight shivaree[7] must refer to a bachelor party held for Frederick Sleight, brother of Thomas Sleight, an important member of the earliest group to make the trip from Cache Valley to Bear Lake Valley in 1863. Fred had married Electa Abigail Kelsey on July 20th four months before the letter, so the party must have been a memorable one.

[6] Adam Wilcox was still living in Dingledelle during the 1880 census with three younger brothers, Joseph, Silas, and David, Joseph's 14 year old wife Elmira, and his own new 17 year old wife, Eunice. They moved in 1884 to St. Charles where Eunice managed their mercantile business while he farmed.

[7] I looked up shivaree to find that it is a noisy mock serenade to celebrate a marriage.

"Old Man Nelson" is the mystery visitor to Paris to whom Hyrum wrote a worshipful letter earlier that year, evidently a charismatic lumberjack working for a lumber company in Evanston. Tom, Jim, and Mary to whom Bishop was writing were his three older siblings, who were evidently all staying at Tom's house in Salt Lake along with Sarah and her mother.

J. H. POMEROY

The postscript of the letter is laden with meaning. Just six weeks earlier, Sarah's father had married a second wife, Ann Carson Taylor, in the Endowment House and brought her back to Paris.

In 1877 John Pomeroy with his brand new wife Emily and George Sirrine would both accompany their fathers as the first settlers of Mesa. He remained friends with both George and Sarah and visited them in March of 1886 during the brief time they lived together in Mesa.

John wasn't the only one to write poetry.

Here's one that Sarah sent to George around January, 1878 on the trip with his father to settle Mesa and nearly two years before their marriage:

May you peace and prosperity see
Such as none but a God can bestow
May all possible blessings attend you
May Heavenly enjoyments be yours
And may Jesus protect and befriend you
Till you reach those Elysian shores.

We have an undated poem from George as well, possibly in reply. I have retained the original spelling which suggests he didn't transcribe it. (I am not sure which of the alternatives is harder to believe—that he composed it or that he wrote it from memory.)

I think of the [thee] tho far away
I think of the with still delight
When gazing on thy portrait heare
I give it with creative might
A life and soul again I have the in my sight
My heart is high I feel the near

I think of the where ere I go
The traces of thy hand I view
And everything around betrays
Thy loving imige still I see

In every place wheare I have been
Thy lovely vison comes between

I think of the when in the west the sun
Sinks down and the long day closes
When darkness has our vales dressed
And all the earth in shade reposes
Then when my heart lies down to rest
Thy imige on my pillow beams
I see the all night in my dreams

G. E. Sirrine

It is fair to say that the love relationship between Sarah and George probably began before he set off for Arizona in September of 1877, since his first letters from the trip complained that she had not written as promised. As it turns out, she had written, though some of the letters were lost and others arrived ridiculously late due to the primitive mail system, rather non-system. These will be discussed in Chapter 4.

In the meanwhile, though writing occasionally to George, Sarah apparently had suitors during the year 1878 before his return from Mesa. In her diary she wrote of Amasa Rich, Frank Larsen, Mahonri Collings, and Silas Wilcox, all single men who visited her in Dingledelle.

Mahonri Collings

Frank Larsen was a single 28 year old man from Denmark living three houses down from Sarah with his 61 year old mother. He called on Sarah several times in June, and then stayed all morning one Sunday. Later he took Sarah riding and then fishing, keeping her out until late at night. In July he helped her get to Paris and back the long way via Ovid. Evidently the interest did not last long, since his name did not enter the diary after that month. It was about that time when Mahonri Moriancumer Collings began to call. Known to her as "Morium," he came across the valley from his home in Paris to visit her during his time off from working Hyrum Wooley's cattle ranch. His parents were from England, but Mahonri was born in New Jersey, obviously after his parents' conversion. His family had moved to Paris from Logan in 1866. He later married Adeline Horsley, a girl from Paris, and against all logic encumbered his firstborn with his own peculiar name.

I am not sure what Sarah's relationship to Silas Wilcox was. He and his two brothers Adam and Joseph were from Paris, homesteading in Dingledelle. All three were single. His two brothers later brought home Paris girls aged 14 and 16 in 1880, but Silas never married. He died at age 63 when he tragically walked in front of a moving train while crossing behind a parked one.

Amasa Rich was a friend of George's. It is possible that his few visits to Sarah were to look out for his friend's interest, not so much his own.

After George showed up from Mesa on October 15th, 1878 there were no more mentions of other young men in Sarah's diary. George's name occurred fourteen times in the next four weeks, the most notable: *George come told us there was going to be a dance. We did not go.* And the next day ...a *nice day. We did not go out.* That was the last journal entry she ever made. They were married a year later.

Chapter 3

Son of Millwrights

Among Sirrine family genealogists there is some controversy about when George was born in San Bernardino, California. The date of birth engraved on his headstone is July 4, 1851, but this has to be wrong by two years. The month and day given on his printed death announcement are also July 4, but the year is given as 1853, which is supported by the California Census[8] which shows that his parents were living together without children in September of 1852. They had been married on July 4th of that year.

George was the firstborn of his 16 year old mother, Esther Ann Crismon. His father, George Warren Sirrine (GWS), had been widowed four years earlier, with a two year old daughter Sarah Ann. After marrying Esther Ann, George Warren fetched Sarah Ann from a foster mother he had engaged in San Francisco. Not much later, the three orphans of his older brother Mephibosheth—Helen Sirrine, Parley Pratt Sirrine, and Theodore Sirrine--arrived in San Bernardino for George Warren to adopt, so George Edward probably never did feel like an oldest child. At the time of his birth, Helen was about 18, Theodore was nearly 14, Parley was nearly nine, and Sarah Ann was six, quite an introduction to motherhood for Esther Ann.

George's father and his maternal grandfather Charles Crismon were both millwrights. Crismon built and owned the saw mill. GWS had built the gristmill and owned it in partnership with its financial backers, the apostles Amasa Lyman and Charles C. Rich. His father and Rich were on the city council of San Bernardino and Lyman was the mayor. After disagreements with the great men, GWS sold out for $11,000 and the family moved to San Diego for a time to invest the money in a coal mine near Point Loma, which ended up failing because it was too close to the ocean and they could not keep the water pumped out of it. Esther Ann had a pair of twin boys, who died at birth when George was 16 months old, and then when he was two and a half, he got a brother named Warren LeRoy, who reportedly weighed 16 pounds at birth. On George's fourth birthday, the Utah War broke out and two months later the Mountain Meadows Massacre occurred. The apostles had been called a few months earlier on a mission to England, the non-Mormons in San Bernardino were uneasy after hearing ugly rumors of the massacre, and Brigham Young was worried about the approaching army, so the Mormons in San Bernardino were all called home to Utah.

Probably the only memories of California that George carried into adulthood were of the long trek back. His grandfather Crismon had become wealthy by freighting flour and lumber to Los Angeles and San Francisco and returned herding 300 mules, 2,000 sheep, and cattle all the way back to Salt Lake. The Sirrines did not leave until March, 1858 to

[8] The month of the census interview is not given in the document, but the infant of their next door neighbors, David and Mary Seeley, was noted to be 1/12 year old. Research reveals that their child Emily was born August 16, 1852 in San Bernardino, so the census must have been counted in September.

walk the difficult 800 miles across the desert. Esther Ann was entering her ninth month of pregnancy. They stopped in Parowan, where she bore her first daughter, whom they named Emeline after GWS's first wife. From there, GWS was called to scout out suitable places where the Saints could settle if forced to leave the Salt Lake valley. He was on this mission for several months, so Esther Ann and the children went on with her father and brothers as soon as she could travel, waiting for her husband in Provo. By this time the Utah War had settled down and the family settled in American Fork, where GWS built a saw mill in American Fork Canyon for a man named Hyatt. The next spring they moved to the 14th Ward in Salt Lake City where the Crismons were living. According to the biography written by Warren LeRoy, GWS worked as a special police officer during that time, spending time guarding Brigham Young's houses among other security jobs. He probably worked with his Crismon brothers-in-law in one of Charles' many businesses which included freighting, sheep, building and running mills, and mining in Eureka. Crismon was said to be one of the richest men in Utah at the time.

In 1859, Esther Ann bore Mary Isabelle, who lived to maturity, and then she lost little boys named Albert at age 3 in 1864 and Seth at age 2 months in 1863. When George was 10, the family moved to Ogden briefly, where GWS built a grist mill for Loren Farr, who was the Stake President and later the mayor.

In 1862 the Civil War was raging and Lincoln was in the middle of his first term as president. The Homestead Act was passed providing 160 acres to settlers on government lands for a nominal filing fee. This stimulated interest in renewing Mormon colonization in southern Idaho among many other places. On May 14th the three apostles, Rich, Lyman, and Cannon were returning from their mission in England. Elder Rich returned to his home in Centerville, hoping for a well-deserved break. Then at a council meeting at the home of Apostle Ezra T. Benson in Logan, Brigham Young called Charles C. Rich to explore the Bear Lake area for settlement. On September 15, 1863 the first company of 32 settlers left Franklin, (then) Utah for Bear Lake accompanied by a company of Shoshones sent by Chief Sashakie as hunters. The trip was not really long enough to require hunters; Rich had wisely included the chief at the onset, promising to leave the south end of the valley, their preferred camping grounds, alone and promising to share future goods. Thomas Sleight's group of 13 followed shortly behind. Brother Rich was back in Salt Lake in time to report to October conference. It was probably at that time that he called his old partner in the grist mill in San Bernardino to bring the Sirrine family to settle Bear Lake Valley. Rich then returned to Bear Lake almost immediately, looking for another route with Jefferson Hunt, Lorin Farr, his son Joseph Rich, and three others via an Indian trail up Ogden Canyon, Blacksmith Fork, and Round Valley to the south end of Bear Lake.

Esther Ann was pregnant with Seth, so she and the two young girls, Emeline and Mary Isabelle went back to the Salt Lake 14th ward and the Crismons. Seth was born in October. GWS took his adopted children, who were now adults, and Sarah Ann, George, and Warren LeRoy on the trek to Bear Lake to prepare a place for the girls the next spring. They were

far from telegraph news when Abraham Lincoln gave the Gettysburg address on November 19th.

Little Seth died December 21. The winter of 1863-64 in Bear Lake was relatively mild and the 188 settlers did fine in dugouts. In February--via snow shoes--William Harmonson and Hezekiah Duffin carried the first mail to and from Franklin including Civil War news and much needed violin strings. Later, pack animals established a steady but arduous route. Edwin Patterson of Bloomington made 13 trips during the winter of 1866-67 for $1 per letter. By 1868 the U. S. government had given a mail contract to Thomas Rich, son of the apostle. Still, Stake President Budge was complaining in the Deseret News in 1872 that poor mail service was one of the greatest drawbacks of life in Bear Lake Valley.[9]

In April a log meeting house was built in Paris. In May, Brigham Young and party of 113 others including a Deseret News reporter traveled to Paris and surrounding settlements, naming Ovid, Montpelier, and Bennington after towns in Young's home state of Vermont.

Sirrines returned to Salt Lake City in the spring to move the rest of the family and their animals. George, who was now 11, herded 100 sheep and 10 head of cattle from Ogden to Bear Lake Valley with the help of Sarah Ann, age 17 and Warren LeRoy who was only eight. According to Warren LeRoy their first house was a three room cabin, the largest in Paris at the time with sawed logs, weather board on the outside, lathed and plastered inside, with an attic. The lath and plaster probably weren't installed until 1865, when GWS built the circular saw mill in Paris Canyon.

Independence Day was celebrated with a parade, a brass band, and a homemade flag. There was a freeze the next day. Another early freeze ruined the wheat crop, a premonition of the approaching worst winter in Bear Lake history.

That fall Charles C. Rich traveled to Logan and returned with Fred T. Perris, a civil engineer, to survey the town site and create blocks of ten acres and streets of eight rods. Each block was divided into ten city lots of one acre each. School was begun in the log meeting house.

Apparently the Sirrines' fine house was not enough to withstand the terrible winter. Several sources report that the valley was covered with 3-6 feet of snow and much of the livestock died. Caught off guard by the mildness of their initial winter in the valley, most settlers were unprepared. Sirrines' roof, laden with snow, caved in on Esther Ann, dislocating her hip and fracturing several ribs.[10] It was impossible to send for a doctor for

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[9] Rich, R. R., *Land of the Sky-Blue Water: A History of the LDS Settlement in Bear Valley.* (Provo, Utah: BYU Press, 1963). p.80.

[10] Although Esther Ann's biography (by Leon Hendrickson, 3 June 2014 in Family Search) gives the winter of 1864-65 for this episode, it more likely happened in 1869-70 and possibly in a house built later. According to Leonard Arrington's fine biography of Charles C. Rich, the only way that Bear Lake residents had access to mail or telegraph service in winter was via snowshoe until after 1869. In the fall of 1869 Brigham Young speaking in Logan priesthood meeting ordered that a road be built through Logan canyon to St. Charles to transport stone and wood for the Logan temple including plans for a telegraph line. The road was begun immediately, although the telegraph was delayed 1871 through Franklin.

six weeks. Upon receiving belated word of the accident, Apostle Benson sent Logan's only physician, Dr. David B. Lamoreax to the rescue by sleigh even though the doctor had protested that it would be impossible to treat such an injury after such a delay. On route the good doctor himself suffered an accident when his sleigh struck a rock, throwing him against the side. He later said that at that very moment he received a vision showing what was needed to hold the hip in place to heal. Upon arrival in Paris he had the blacksmith create a device which promoted a full recovery for his patient.

In 1865 the Thirteenth Amendment to the constitution was passed, abolishing slavery.

Francis Pomeroy and George W. Sirrine built a burr mill so that the settlers no longer needed to use coffee grinders to process wheat. It used native stone and was 18 inches in diameter. Since the wheat crop had frozen, they had to import wheat from Cache County for $5 per bushel. Charles C. Rich attended conference that April, using snowshoes to reach Logan. There he learned that Abraham Lincoln had been assassinated. The next year the first Sunday school was organized in Paris.

According to George's younger brother Warren LeRoy, the sons of Charles C. Rich opened a cooperative store in about the second year of the settlement, into which GWS put a few hundred dollars as a shareholder and was a director. In his colorful style, Warren LeRoy states that liquor was sold there and the "two (the sons and the liquor) didn't work together and in few years they had to close the doors." GWS offered to buy the other shareholders out and built a store across the street, which he operated on credit from Antonio Vernon Quinn, the manager of Sisel and Wallace, a wholesale and retail grocery store in Evanston.[11]

[11] Antonio Vernon Quinn was born in 1831 in Kentucky, but was living at age 18 with his mother Nancy in Rushville, Illinois, but probably left about that time seeking gold. In 1866 he was listed in the voting registry of Placer, California, living in Canyon Creek and working as a clerk. A center of the gold rush, Placer had become a stop on the Pony Express route and then the western origin of the transcontinental railroad. The 1870 census shows Quinn living in Evanston, Wyoming. Evanston had begun as a hell-on-wheels railroad camp in 1868 as the western end of the railroad construction rolled toward Promontory. The first building was a tent saloon run by a Canadian named Harry Booth. The permanent town was established in 1869, a few months after the rails of the Union Pacific were laid, named by chief engineer Grenville Dodge for James Evans, the early surveyor of the route. Dodge platted the town in 1870 in a fashion that was similar to the Mormon style, but on a bias with the main street heading northwest, aligned with the tracks. Steam locomotives required frequent stops for water and wood or coal. Evanston was situated on the Bear River, which provided ample wood and water. Coal mines were later opened nearby, using a predominance of Chinese workers who had been laid off from the railroad construction. By 1871 a roundhouse with 20 stalls was built northwest of town to service locomotives and to house section crews who each maintained 6-mile stretches of track.
At the time of the census the town had 18 dwellings with a population of 77 people of whom only 16 were females, including Antonio's wife Mattie. All but five of the females were children. Most of the men were in their 20s and 30s and over half were foreigners from twelve different countries. Quinn was listed as a retail grocer with a personal estate of $1800, surpassed only by Harry Booth, two other liquor dealers, and George Fairbanks, who ran the saw mill. It appears that with such a small population to support a grocery, Quinn made his money more as a wholesaler such as the role he performed with the Sirrine store in Paris, obtaining supplies by rail for all the surrounding areas.

Warren LeRoy, Emeline, and Belle Sirrine all worked in the Paris store, often taking payment in butter, eggs, grain, and livestock. George and his father made a run to Evanston every week to trade the local products and bring back new merchandise for the store. In his own brief autobiography, John Pomeroy wrote that he had been hired at one time for that very freighting job himself, telling of a humbling incident in which he had to rescue his wagon and team after they fell through the ice when he took an unwise shortcut across frozen Bear Lake.

The first Paris Relief Society was organized in 1868. The Bear Lake Stake was organized during a visit in 1869 by Brigham Young, Daniel Wells, John Taylor, and Wilford Woodruff. David Kimball was the stake president. GWS was president of the High Council.

The transcontinental railroad was completed May 10, 1869 at Promontory Point, Utah and the road from Logan to Saint Charles was begun that year.

Few details are known of George's early years in Paris. George and his brother Warren LeRoy and the two oldest girls...*used to stay on the farm and the boys would put up the hay and the girls would make the butter in the summer. Their father took care of the store in town,* according to the Sirrine history which was produced for the Mesa centennial celebration. The farm was not on the city lot. Each family had an allotment of farm land outside of town. I don't know where this was located—probably far enough away that they actually lived there during haying. There is a hint that at least some of the Sirrine land was on the east side of the valley, since the later trek to Mesa began in Dingledelle. George is said to have had a good singing voice and participated in the choir. The Sirrine family lived only four lots away from Sarah Oakey, so there are many ways that George and Sarah may have interacted. One way was probably in the choir, since we know that she was a member of it as well. Young and old participated in many additional social activities besides church meetings.

When the Paris co-op was organized in 1874, George's father sold his store for $3,057 and became a director.

Evanston grew rapidly, as did Antonio Quinn's business, morphing into Beckwith and Quinn Company which contracted famously with the UP Railroad to broker Chinese labor repairing tracks and work in the Rock Springs coal mines. The company acted as paymaster to all the miners. There was a revolt of the white miners in 1885 against Chinese labor in which over 28 Chinese were killed and Beckwith and Quinn were threatened with death if the Chinese were not removed within three days. The situation was cooled down by the Governor and federal troops, who stayed around for thirteen years to keep the peace.

Interestingly, on June 9, 1894 Antonio Quinn and his son 23 year old Frank Quinn were registered to vote in Maricopa County, Arizona claiming West Phoenix as a residence. This is likely connected to a later business of selling mustangs from the Salt River area for which he employed George Sirrine.

By the 1900 census, Mattie Quinn had died and Antonio was living in a large house with no mortgage and a servant. Three years later he married a Scottish woman 30 years his junior named Marion in Salt Lake City. He died a wealthy man in 1913. His large home stills stands in Evanston and is on the historical registry.

It is certain that beyond the freighting runs to Evanston, George did much work with animals, especially horses. In his later life he trained horses for a living. And he drove animals. His introduction to the job was probably the drive of the family herds from Ogden to Paris when he was only eleven. His job on the massive pioneer trek to settle Mesa was to care for the herds.

George bred blooded horses and always treated them gently. He liked to say that there were no balky horses, only balky owners, and he never used a whip. He was a general rancher, raising hay, cattle, grain, and of course, horses. According to his daughter Mamie, even after moving back from Mesa, George worked for Mr. Quinn, the Evanston merchant, making many trips driving animals between Idaho and Arizona. Each trip took about six weeks, sometimes leaving his family alone for long periods. Danger was involved, from accidents, cattle rustlers or Indians. Geronimo and his bands were active in Northern Arizona during that time. On one trip, when his letters had not reached Sarah, she feared Indian trouble and sent a telegram to GWS. As it happened, George himself had picked up and delivered the unopened telegram personally to his father, who opened it and handed it back to him saying, "I guess this is for you." George sent a telegram home at once.

Perhaps the gap in our knowledge of his young life can be partly filled by learning about his friends at the time. Abel Rich is one we are sure of. He was one of the speakers at George's funeral and said to have *been acquainted with (George) from boyhood and testified to his sterling qualities and good works.* Abel is mentioned in letters written between Sarah and George before their marriage showing that George and Abel corresponded while George was on his pioneering trip to Mesa.

Although four years younger than George, Abel George Rich had also been born in San Bernardino, to the apostle's sixth wife Harriett Sargent just two months before his father was called to England to preside over the European Mission. He came to Paris at age six. Abel ran the flour mill, which might explain his friendship with George. He married Mary Jane Innes, a Paris girl, a month after George and Sarah were married in 1879. Abel is on the front row, left. George is front row, right. On the back row, right is James McKay Pugmire, who was just one year older than George. James' father had been bishop of the seventh ward in Salt Lake City when called to settle St. Charles in 1864, bringing his three wives. They lived in a 14 room house where his father worked as a salesman for the St. Charles Co-op, after personally building it and then worked as the Stake Tithing agent from 1878 until his death in 1880. James married Marinda Eliza Young of St. Charles in 1875 and later entered polygamy.

I cannot identify the remaining young men in the photo. It is likely that one of them is Amasa Rich, Abel's half-brother through Mary Ann Phelps, the apostle's third wife, who also

came to Paris in 1864. Like George, Amasa was a horseman and cattleman. He married Mary Elizabeth Jacobs in 1880 and the next year he bought the big house that GWS had built in Paris. Amasa supervised the canal and pumping plant at the north end of Bear Lake.

Other lifelong friends who spoke at George's funeral in 1908 were Alfred Sparks and Samuel Humphreys. Alfred was born in Herriman, Utah in 1857 and moved from Paris to Cottonwood at around the same time as the Oakeys. He married Sarah Jane Grimmett and moved to Lander with the rest of the Grimmett family in 1879. Sarah sent condolences to them through her brother Fred when they lost their firstborn Beatrice at four months of age. They moved permanently back to Dingledelle (as it was then called) in 1881.

Samuel Humphreys was born in Mansfield, Nottinghamshire in 1846, immigrated to Utah in 1853 and settled in Paris in 1864. He often made the 12 hour trip to Franklin on snowshoes for mail and sometimes returned with flour on a hand sled. In 1868 he participated with men from Cache and Sanpete counties in a pioneer trail rescue effort. After taking a second wife he was incarcerated for 6 months in Boise for polygamy. While in prison he was called to be bishop of the Cottonwood Branch where he moved in 1887 and served for 28 years.

Chapter 4

Pioneering Mesa

Oct the 21, 1877

Rich Field

Dear Sarah

I now take the opportunity of writing you a few lines. I am well and hope this will find you the Same. We was all to a dance last night and had a good time. I would of had a better time if you had been heare. It made me feel lonsem. We was in the telegraph office last night talking with miss Bridg. Rettie has a fine girl. They are tickeld half to deth. We are having a good time but I would feel better if I would hear from you. We are now lying at rich field on the Severe, don't know how long we will stop. We have give up the notion of going by St. George. I haven't ben with the outfit much senc we left town, I have ben after lost horses for 10 days at a time. Found them all but two. Plese write and tell me how you and every body, is especly Sarah. Direct to canab cain county. There is so much nois in camp I guess I will stop for this time. Give my respects to all. I remain as ever yours truly

G. E. Sirrine

Excuse poor writing

Think of me at morn
Think of me at night
Think of me love
And don't forget to write

Although George is mentioned several times in his brother Warren LeRoy's account of the move from Paris to Mesa, his name is totally missing from the historical accounts of the first pioneers to the Salt River Valley. One possible reason is expressed in the above letter: he was seldom with the group because he was always chasing stray livestock. Compared to their separations after their marriage, George and Sarah seemed not to write to each other often. Few letters survive from this period, but the ones we have make it clear that he was part of the trek to Mesa and had an important role.

According to a family biography, George's maternal grandfather Charles Crismon lost thousands of his cattle during a severe winter in 1877 and wanted to get away from Utah's severe weather. An itinerant miller named Snow who worked in one of his flour mills told him that land was available in Arizona with perpetual sunshine. Snow had worked at mills at Pumpkinville (now Phoenix) and Adamsville (near Florence.) Crismon persuaded Snow to tell the story to the church authorities. On the second day of a special conference of the Church on May 13, 1877 the apostle George Q. Cannon read from the pulpit a list of nine brethren along with some of their sons for colonizing missions to Arizona. David and Sol Kimball were to colonize the upper Gila River and Charles Crismon and George Warren

Sirrine the central valley of the Salt River. They were ordained the next day. GWS returned to Paris to recruit Francis M. Pomeroy and others while his father-in-law remained in Salt Lake to make preparations. The recruiting would not be easy. People were concerned by what they had heard about Arizona: Indian warfare, tough mining men, and outlaws. Just a month before Crismon and Sirrine were set apart to colonize Mesa, Geronimo had been captured in Mexico and returned to San Carlos reservation.

Geronimo at Skeleton Canyon April 17, 1866

Apache conflicts with other people in the Southwest date to the earliest Spanish settlements, but the conflicts now known as the Apache Wars began with the Mexican-American War in 1846. Some groups such as the Mormon Battalion were given safe passage through Apache lands although other tribes sided with Mexico. The U.S. Army campaigns against the Apaches began in 1849 and lasted until the surrender of Geronimo in 1886. Two deservedly well-known Apache war leaders were Cochise and Geronimo. Noted Americans involved included Kit Carson. During the Civil War Cochise entered an alliance of Apaches to drive all Americans and Mexicans from their territory including parts of what is now Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. There were many notable battles throughout this time. One of these was fought in 1862 at Big Bug, Arizona, a mining town near Big Bug creek about 75 miles north of Mesa which was founded by Theodore Boggs during the Civil War. He was the son of none other than Governor Lilburn Boggs, the Mormons' nemesis in Missouri. One night Apaches attacked the mine, where Boggs and three other miners were sleeping in a dugout. Their dog awoke them after being shot by an arrow and the men escaped after killing two of the Indians. The Camp Grant Massacre occurred April 28, 1871 in which 150 Apaches were killed by a vigilante group who felt threatened by Apaches camping outside the fort looking for handouts when the Indians began taking hay and barley from the farmers' fields. Camp Grant was about 270 miles from Mesa. The vigilantes were declared innocent after 19 minutes of deliberation by a jury and the Apaches retreated to the Tonto Basin in the mountains 60 miles north of Mesa. Federal troops attempted during succeeding years to eradicate the several bands in that area with varying degrees of success. February 27, 1875, now known as Exodus Day, is when Troops attempted to relocate all the tribes in the Tonto mountains to the desert reservation at San Carlos about 100 miles directly east of Mesa. Before Cochise died in 1874 he had agreed to move even farther east to Chiricahua. When half of them wouldn't comply and fled to Mexico, Geronimo became the target of American troops. The Mormons entered Mesa just months after the Army had captured Cochise and returned him to San Carlos, where he stayed until September 1881, when he again fled to Mexico with 700 Apaches. In 1883, General George Crook journeyed to Geronimo's camp in Mexico and convinced him to return to the San Carlos reservation, which he finally did in February, 1884. Demonized by the local newspapers, Geronimo and

his group fled again in 1886. It took Brigadier General Nelson Miles, 5,000 soldiers, 500 Apache scouts, 100 Navajo scouts, and thousands of civilian militia to persuade Geronimo and his 24 warriors to surrender at Skeleton Canyon, just 106 miles south east of Mesa, finally ending the Apache War. It did not end Apache raids, however. The last Apache raid occurred in 1924 when a band of them stole horses from Arizonan settlers.

Brigham Young died August 22, probably of peritonitis from a ruptured appendix. In September George and his family left Paris for Arizona.

The exact date of departure is hard to define. John Pomeroy had just married Emily Elizabeth Stratton in Paris on September 6, 1877. I suspect this might possibly have been on the rebound from the end of his relationship with Sarah Oakey. Their initial marriage did not happen in the endowment house, suggesting a hurried accommodation to the pending trip. Emily was 18 and had been raised by her mother's aunt and uncle, Mary and William Rowell in Paris, who had taken her into their home after her mother had died in Logan when Emily was five. GWS left a few days early to visit with his daughter Sarah Radell at Indian Creek. The rest of the Bear Lake group left September 14, possibly some a day later. The group consisted of two extended families with three hired drivers, J. Harvey Blair, Chris Nelson, and Elijah Pomeroy, John's unmarried older brother. Francis Martin Pomeroy was an 1847 pioneer to Salt Lake Valley. He was likely GWS's closest associate owing to their time building the Paris flour and lumber mills together. GWS was a pioneer to San Francisco via the ship *Brooklyn* in 1846. The Sirrine family included George, age 24, Warren LeRoy, age 22, Emeline, age 19, Belle, age 18, Ella, age11, Joel, age 9, and Della, age 8, who had been living together in Paris and the two nephews whom GWS and Esther Ann had adopted in San Bernardino. Theodore, age 38, was married to Laura Holmes, a 27 year old born in Alpine, who at age 12 had also been an early settler of Paris. Laura was still recovering from giving birth to her fourth child, Mary Ellen, only 11 days earlier. Having lost a boy and a girl as toddlers, they boarded their wagon with only two children, the newborn and five year old Sarah Delilah. Parley Pratt Sirrine was 37, a life-long bachelor. Both brothers were living in Dingledelle as ranchers.

Sarah Radell

The Pomeroy family was complicated. Not all of them were in the Bear Lake wagon train. Francis Martin's first wife, Irene, had died in SLC prior to the settlement of Paris. Her oldest child Francelle, Sarah's school teacher, had moved to Panguitch. She was married to Charles I. Robson, who was later honored as one of the five Mesa founders with street named after him. They and their four children joined the party later as it passed through Panguitch. Their youngest, Lucrecia, would not be born until October 10th just before the party reached Richfield and joined the group as a newborn. Ashbel Pomeroy, who had married Mary Ann Rich, sister of George's friend Amasa, evidently never moved from Bear Lake, likely finding it difficult to leave his father-in-law, the apostle Charles C. Rich. Ashbel's little sister Ella had married into the Rich family and Emma had married into the

Reorganite Grimmett family and moved away to Lander. Neither of them joined the company. Irene Pomeroy, the teenage friend of Sarah's, who had lived with the Oakey family and married Bill Newell, traveled with him and their two toddlers. And of course, there were John and Elijah.

Francis also took his second wife Sarah with six children aged 17 and under, and his third wife Jessamine with five. Some of these left from Bear Lake and some joined the group in Salt Lake.

Seretta and Warren LeRoy Sirrine

One family biographer wrote that George agreed only with reluctance to leave due to his romantic relationship with Sarah. The few letters we have from him that year support that notion. I suspect that George's mother Esther Ann may have had mixed feelings about the trip as well. She would turn 41 in November and was in the sixth month of her final pregnancy, and had already experienced childbirth on the trail from San Bernardino. She had borne 14 children, five after arriving in Paris, of which only nine survived long enough to have children of their own. Charles C. Rich had performed a wedding for Warren LeRoy and Seretta Daley in January. Warren LeRoy wrote that he too had objected to the trip, announcing to his father that he and his new bride would likely follow the next year in the fall, since he could not get an outfit to make the trip. GWS simply answered sternly, "Yes, you can." He told the couple to sell off all the Sirrines' dry cows and as many steers as they could to Shirley the drover. They bought a wagon for themselves and one for George and jerked their best beef for the trail, sacrificing a big Durham four-year-old that was "very poor" in the spring, which they fattened to about 1500 pounds, feeding the family all the 976 miles to Mesa. They produced 200 lbs. of butter which they packed in five 5-gallon cans sealed air tight plus 20 lbs. in a big jar to start eating on. Everything they owned was sold, given away, or packed into their wagons.

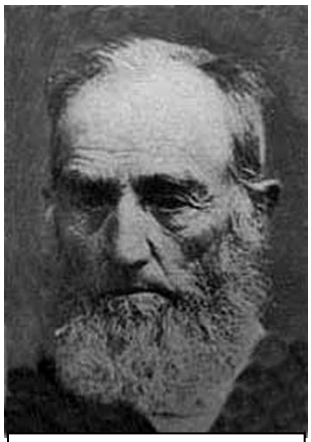
Rettie was pregnant and by the time they left Paris, she was even nearer than her mother-in-law to delivery. George and Warren LeRoy personally contributed 15 head of cows and six head of horses in addition to their wagons and ox teams. GWS drove a light wagon, trailing a carriage and two pairs of horses. He had about 50 cows and 25 horses.

Warren LeRoy writes that the trip began in Dingledelle, which can't be possible, since he, George, and his parents were living in Paris. However, I suspect that the bulk of the family's livestock and wagons were in Dingledelle, where the actual wagon train would have been assembled including all of Theodore's animals. It would seem logical to travel from there to Montpelier to join the Oregon trail route south through Wyoming or take the Bear Lake pioneer northern route through Ovid and Liberty and through Immigration

Canyon through Franklin to Logan, but instead, they headed south from Dingledelle to Indian Creek past the old Merkley place on the hilly, dusty, winding road which remains unpaved to this day. The creek flows from Pine Springs where the Ream family decades later had their dry farms to what is still known as Indian Creek Ranch about a mile from the hot springs at the northeast of Bear Lake. George's older half-sister Sarah from GWS's first wife, Emeline Lane in San Francisco, was living there with her husband Barney Radell and their one year old son. The Radells did not join the group, waiting two more years to follow them. George and Warren LeRoy "night herded" that first stretch for fear that some of the cattle or horses would want to run back. They stayed overnight at the Radell ranch, and then traveled down the east side of Bear Lake to Worm Creek for a night, then through what is now known as Laketown Canyon to Randolph and Woodruff in Utah. This was roughly the route that George Sirrine and John Pomeroy had used for years travelling to Mr. Quinn's mercantile to supply the Paris store.

The sixteen Pomeroys met the Sirrines at Indian Creek, joined by drivers. They brought five light-spring wagons drawn by twelve oxen.

The pioneers travelled through Coalville and Parley's Park, arriving in Salt Lake City probably via Parley's Canyon and then to Millcreek Canyon on September 22, where they camped near the grist mill that had been built by Charles Crismon in 1857 for Mr. Hyatt. They stayed there several days gathering the Salt Lake City group and additional supplies. Warren LeRoy had time to take a horse and buggy up to Centerville to see Rettie's grandfather, Thomas Grover.


Charles Crismon

Joining them at Millcreek Canyon were Charles Mallory and his family of seven. From there they moved to Doc Dunyan's Meadow, where they were united with the John S. Pomeroys, William H. Newell with a family of four, W. Swartz and family of four and Charles Crismon who was 70 years old (and, according to some, on his 26th mission) with sixteen of his family, taking three of his five wives in five covered wagons. Esther Ann's mother, Mary Hill, didn't go—she was tired of pioneering. Her children were married and most were settled in Salt Lake and she could not bear to leave her grandchildren. She saw Charles on his many subsequent trips to Salt Lake City and once visited Mesa with several of her children in February and March 1883, a big, weeks-long reunion, but eventually moved in with her daughter Samantha Chase in Harrisville, Utah. In Salt Lake the group swelled to 72 people, 25 wagons, 16 span of mules and oxen, 200 cattle and 60 horses. Next they camped at the Point of the Mountain for a few days, waiting for Joseph Bond and Wellington Richens to join them.

The Bear Lake Stake was reorganized the Sunday after the group left Point of the Mountain. Paris was divided into two wards. William Passey was appointed the presiding elder of the Cottonwood Branch on October 31.

Travel was slow, covering from 12 to 18 miles per day. The animals were herded at night. They drove through Provo, south to Santaquin, then Nephi and through the canyon to Salina. They camped for several days on good ground to the south of Richfield, the last place where they could get supplies. Warren LeRoy writes:

Joseph Bond and Wellington Richens had caught up to us and we were playing a game of ball when G.W. Sirrine whistled for me to come to him. And he told me to take the trail tongue out of the carriage and put the tongue in it and hook up the horses onto it for he was going for a lady doctor. About eight o'clock that evening Addie Sirrine was born and the next morning we all started out and my wife never got along as well with any of her children as she did with that first child and she was the mother of eight children.

Addie was Charles Crismon's first great grandchild.

As mentioned in his letter of October 21, George was occupied with the horses in Richfield. Chasing runaways took him away from the group much of the time and at many points of the trip. Evidently their original plan had been to cross the mountains south of Richfield to Cove Fort and travel via St. George. It is unclear why they had "give up the notion," though on the modern map Kanab would seem a more direct route, especially since crossing Lee's Ferry would favor a more easterly approach. So they moved south on the current route of U.S. 89 along the Sevier River.

They were forced to stay two extra days at Marysvale to retrieve several horses who had turned back up the trail. In the meantime Elijah Pomeroy went up the mountain and bagged a fat buck, the first deer killed on the trip. The Robson family joined the group in Panguitch with a family of six.

According to the detailed biography of Charles Crismon written by his great-grandson Charles H. Crismon, (and not mentioned at all by Warren LeRoy):

The day the company reached Upper Kanab, the Crismon and Sirrine wagons out-distanced the rest of the company. Charles, being somewhat an impatient man, had a well-equipped wagon and wanted to make better time. This eagerness would work to his disadvantage and embarrassment. At a fork in the road the Crismons took the wrong turn and headed toward Lower Kanab instead of the small community called Johnson. When the rest of the company reached the fork and realized that the Crismons and Sirrines took the wrong turn they decided to camp and rest a few days until the Crismon and Sirrines returned. When the company was reunited, they joked and teased Crismon and Sirrine mercilessly as they were veterans of many such expeditions and it seemed so unlikely they could err in this manner. Charles determined not to let it happen again.

They had to stop again in Kanab Canyon to shoe the feet of some of their cattle, who had become tender footed. In Kanab William Crismon got stuck in the sand on the public square, requiring Jesse Hobson to use two yoke of cattle to pull him out. Despite this embarrassment, the people of Kanab were hospitable and accommodating when they found out the purpose of the trip, telling the pioneers that they had a hard trip ahead and to stay

as long as they wanted. The locals had just harvested hay, grain, and potatoes, had plenty of feed and water, all of which they shared without a cent of payment according to Warren LeRoy.

The first night out of Kanab was a dry camp. Warren LeRoy was on guard duty that night under a big quilt doubled over as a wind break. Two tramps joined him at his fire at about 2 am. The next day they crossed the Utah/Arizona line. At House Rock they found a tiny stream, but it was so meager it took an entire day to water all their animals. At Jacob's Pools, Grandfather Crismon's Indian Dick died. Dick was an Indian boy who had been adopted as a member of the family after Charles had purchased him "to save him from slavery." According to his foster sister Ada Crismon, the boy had suffered some sort of chronic lung trouble and may have been overcome by the altitude. He had been working with George to herd the animals. The group went on to Soap Creek while William Crismon and J.D. Hobson stayed behind to bury Indian Dick and chisel "Dick Crismon" on a rock for a marker.

The company was at Lee's[12] Ferry November 17 and 18. The ferry charges were so high they paid for just enough animals to pull their wagons on and off the ferry and led the rest about a half mile upriver to swim them across the Colorado River. Ten year old David Crismon fell off the ferry requiring that a rope be swum to rescue him. There was trouble with the animal swim as well. Panicked, the animals stopped in the middle of the river and just swam in circles. The herders crossed in a boat and hurriedly led some of the horses upstream who had already crossed on the ferry. When the swimming herd saw them they headed for shore and not one was lost.

They crossed Lee's Backbone, a dangerous, steep poorly built dugway which required wagon locks and drags. At Willow Springs, Joseph Bond's wife Prudence Richins delivered a baby they named Orson Obed. He died six days later. Not wanting to bury the baby there, they made a box to carry the baby's corpse by horseback to Moenkopi, a Hopi settlement fourteen miles away for burial. The group lay over a day to allow the father with Wellington Richens and Francis M. Pomeroy to carry it there.

They dealt with quicksand crossing the Little Colorado River at Sunset Crossing, and then stayed at Ballinger's Camp for several days to rest their stock, where they were able to kill all the deer they wanted. Warren LeRoy and Settie went with Elijah Pomeroy and Emeline to visit Lot Smith's camp, where they were recruited to stay and to join the United Order. Lot Smith was a Stake President, the first in Arizona. Pomeroys "didn't like the looks of the country" and headed for the Salt River Valley. At Bear Springs, in the big pine timber of the Mogollen Mountains the pioneers were caught in a massive snowstorm. They woke up to 30 inches of snow on Christmas Eve. Incredibly, they decided to proceed up the mountain, following government blazes on the trees to stay on the road. It took four days to get to the

[12] John Doyle Lee established the ferry at the request of Brigham Young in 1872, but was sentenced to death for his participation in the Mountain Meadows Massacre of 1856. Lee had been executed just eight months earlier on the Mountain Meadow site and the ferry was being kept by one of his 18 former wives.

summit, where the snow was only a foot deep. Esther Ann went into labor, so she and GWS asked Aunt Tilda Pomeroy to stay for the night at the summit with them while the others left to descend to Beaverhead. With the temperature reportedly -20 degrees, Esther Ann's final baby, Florence Sirrine, was born on December 29, 1877. They joined the group the next day. This is the story that was told by her son Warren LeRoy. Other accounts have the baby being born at the camp overlooking the valley of the Verde. The group set up a more permanent camp at Beaverhead. I think Beaverhead was probably just a short distance above Camp Verde on the Verde River, about 120 miles from the town of Lehi, Arizona.

A few days later, the family heads Charles Crismon, GWS, Francis Pomeroy and C. G. Robson took a light wagon and four horses down Black Canyon into the Salt River Valley. They went through Phoenix and Tempe, crossing the river at Hayden's Ferry. They found sanctuary with friends called Camp Utah at Lehi or Jonesville named for Daniel W. Jones. It was now January.

The Daniel Jones group had left Nephi, Utah September 10, 1875. Upon their arrival on the Salt River, they had decided to go upriver to Hayden's ferry rather than down the Salt River to Phoenix. There they found not only a ferry, but a blacksmith, a wagon shop, and a flour mill established in 1874 by Charles T. Hayden,[13] who was sympathetic to Mormons and welcomed the group. They camped there with Winchester Miller, who allowed their animals to graze in his field and alerted them to the favorable location for a ditch to divert the river at the current Jonesville ditch location. They settled there and called the town Camp Utah. The group lived under a version of the United Order and had added immigrants from Utah over the next few years. The town still exists and is still called Lehi.

Crismon, GWS, Pomeroy and Robson met with Daniel Jones and with Henry C. Rogers, who had arrived in March of 1877. They had just completed making a small ditch to irrigate their crops. They told the travelers of the ancient canals and of the desirable mesa, inviting them to join their community. Not having planned on communal living, after exploring for several days the advance group picked Mesa as their eventual landing spot and immediately went to Phoenix to file a claim on the land. They tried to hire William A. Hancock, the surveyor who had laid out the town of Phoenix, to lay out the irrigation system. He was skeptical about the possibility, having already considered it, and refused to help. They returned and made a careful survey of the area, testing the soil, and studying the canal ruins. GWS made a tripod from 2 x 6 boards, and with a bubble level and a straight edge did a remarkably accurate evaluation of the canal and the flatlands indicating the ancient system could work. The ancient canal could be traced 20 miles from the river

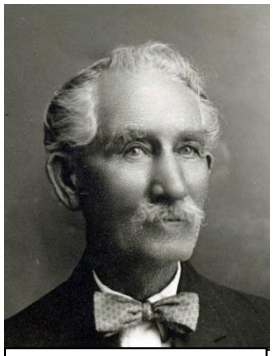
[13] Charles Trumbull Hayden was an enterprising freighter, merchant, and mail carrier and a probate judge in Tucson. On a business trip to Phoenix he noted a good spot for the ferry and in 1873 moved to the spot where he eventually built a cable ferry, grist mill, general store, blacksmith shop and other amenities for travelers. The mill still stands as a historic monument. Hayden's mill is considered the origin of the town of Tempe and of Arizona State University. Hayden later ran unsuccessfully for Territorial Delegate to Congress and was considered by Grover Cleveland for the Governorship of the territory. His son, Carl Hayden was much more successful politically, the first United States Senator to serve seven terms.

with many laterals to Lehi and elsewhere, combining to measure about 120 miles of excavation. It appeared that the ancient structure had been about 50 feet wide and 12 feet deep. They left Crismon on the river to begin work on the canal with a couple of hired men from the Camp Utah group and returned to Beaverhead to bring their families down to the Salt River after nearly five months on the trail.

Meanwhile at Beaverhead, George had discovered that 23 head of Sirrine horses were missing. He looked but never found them and decided they were stolen. A reward was offered and a man eventually brought back the worst ten of GWS' group, but the rest remained lost. Warren LeRoy looked for them after they made camp on the Salt river about two miles above Lehi, searching through Paradise Valley, up Cave Creek and out in the Black Canyon and up towards Prescott but found nothing over several days.

The main group also followed Beaver Creek to the crossing above Camp Verde, where troops had been stationed since 1871 to protect people in the Salt River Valley against Apache raids from the mountains they had just left. From there they descended the rocky Black Canyon road, experiencing trouble descending the steep Arastra Creek Pass, but arrived at Camp Utah on February 14, 1878. Moving upstream five miles, they settled on the tableland to the southwest.

In early January, Sarah had written a letter to George, of which only a fragment remains. "We all spent the holidays at Paris—no parties at the ranch. The boys have begun the house but they are not working much at it." The letter also contains a little poem from Sarah and asks what kind of country George has found—what nice rocks and how much sand and how satisfied they all are. "Amasa [Rich] told me what you said about it. He thinks you will soon be tired of it down there." That we have a fragment of this letter proves that it eventually arrived, but not before March 5, when George wrote from Hayden's Ferry to complain that he had not heard from Sarah since November 7. He mentioned he had been hunting horses ever since arriving on the Salt River, having lost nine. Unfortunately, the November letter from Sarah has not survived. I assume that it and this fragmentary letter were forwarded from Kanab to Hayden's Ferry with other parties traveling to Arizona.


Theodore Sirrine

In May of 1878, Theodore Sirrine used his homestead claim on behalf of the entire group, filing for the entire mesa and deeding it to Robison, GWS, and Francis M. Pomeroy. They platted it into 10-acre blocks with eight lots each, giving each settler four lots (five acres). The roads were wide, Salt Lake City style, and there were two public plazas.

Only 18 able bodied men and boys were available to work on the canal system, but by October a small stream was available to the proposed town site and the pioneers immediately began to build on the Mesa. Many had been sleeping in tents, using wet sheets at night in the summer against the heat. The first home to be erected was by the Pomeroys. They had salvaged abandoned timbers from Maryville and the outpost of

Fort McDonalds, the river crossing northeast of Fort Utah. Upon the timber frame they fashioned walls of arrow weed latticing which they covered Mexican style with mud. The next two houses belonged to Theodore Sirrine and Charles Mallory. By November all families had moved from camp to the town site.

GWS continued to lead in developing the irrigation system, schooled by his great experience harnessing water power for his many millraces. He became the first president of the irrigation company and years later built the Highland Canal to reach Gilbert and Higley. He instituted the co-op and built the hotel. Theodore and Parley were also millwrights. Theodore was an engineer on the canal and built and operated the first flour mill in Mesa.

George had written to Sarah on April 18, 1878.

George and his sister Emeline around 1877

Dear Sarah

I recived your letter yesterday and was glad to hear from you. It has been raining hear for some time so I got a rest the first time sence I came heare. We have got the indians to work for us now. We had 21 yesterday and 26 today. They are veary peasable. They all work for a living. They have got in two or three hundred acers of grain and lots of watter melon. I was sory to her that your ma had been sick and glad to hear that she was getting well. I will write to the boyes in a day or two. It is almost working time now. I was sory to hear that you was liable to have trouble up theare with the indians. I think that you will hafto make up your mind to come down hear wheare they are peasable. I am thinking of going to freighting now. Lide will bee in to day and I guess we will go together. I thank you for your new years wish but I don't think that this will bee the hapiest year I will experience at least I hope not. I have had better times before and I think I can agane. This is no place for me at present but I want to stay until the folks get places started and then I expect you will see me. It is working now so I guess I will hafto quit. Love to all. Same Direct as befor.

G.E.S.

The only additional letter surviving from this period was written by George to Sarah in Paris, not Dingledelle, on July 7, also from Hayden's Ferry. It is likely that George was living and working there at least part time.

Dear Sarah

I have not heard a word from you for about two months I have ritten two or three letters but I guess you have not got them. I hope you had a good time on the forth we had a veary good

time. We went down to Mrs Jones in the day time and eat watter melons and at night we went down to haydens feary to a dance that was about 12 miles. We danced til day light then we started home. Theare was some nice Mexican gals. Lige is a going to start back to Colmens tomorrow morning. He don't know how long he will bee gone but I think he will go to bear lake before he gets back. I expect I will be up theare this winter if nothing happens. I expect theare will bee trouble heare this fall with the indians. They have got orders to bee on the reservation in thirty dayes and they say they will fight before they will go. I hope I will hear from you soon you don't know how bad I want to hear from you I expect I will see you soon anyway.

Hoping to hear from you soon I remain yours truly, G. E. Sirrine

I would like to know who Lige or Lide is.

It is interesting that the Indians seemed so peaceful at first, but by July seemed threatening. Apparently Cochise was not happy to have been brought back to San Carlos Reservation.

George arrived in Cottonwood on October 16, 1878 according to Sarah's diary.

If George had remained in Mesa in 1879 he would have experienced a dry year, which led to a potentially dangerous clash with downstream farmers over water rights. When the Salt River dried up in Phoenix, an angry party of armed farmers confronted GWS, who was president of the Mesa Irrigation Company. He and Daniel Jones accomplished a successful compromise by opening the head gates for three days, allowing the full stream to flow toward Phoenix. As they expected, the water disappeared into the sand about halfway there. There were no further disputes.

From July, 1878 until his marriage to Sarah Oakey on November 6, 1879, I have discovered no mention of George in any letters. Throughout her whole life Sarah seemed to avidly hang on to every letter she received. The fact that none appear from this time suggests that they were together and had no need to write. George is curiously absent from historical records of Mesa during the pioneering period. He is not listed in most historical accounts of the trip other than sparingly in the account of his brother Warren LeRoy. He is not listed among the original pioneers of Mesa on the pioneer monuments nor in the documents of the Mesa centennial celebration, which describe the contributions of many of the pioneer party. Perhaps he was invisible because he was so often absent from the party chasing horses. More likely the reason his absence from the stories is that they were written by the descendants of the founding pioneers, and George's descendants view Bear Lake as their home.

Chapter 5

George and Sarah

Dingledelle

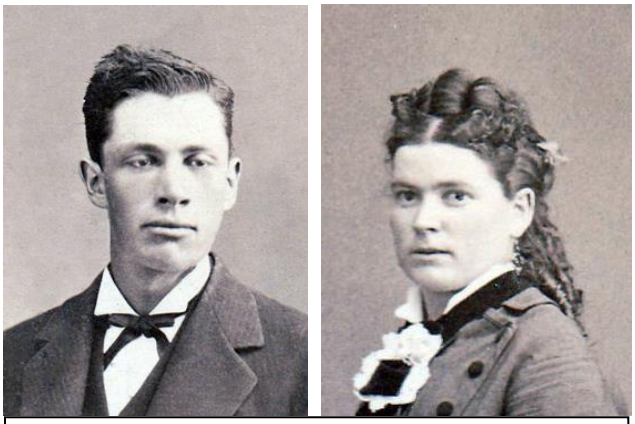
Jan 4th 1880

Dear Brother Fred

Many thanks for the present you gave me. I suppose I must tell you about the wedding on the 6th of November. We went to the endowment house at 8 oclock. Tom took us in the buggy, it was a nice morning. There were about 50 couples there so it took so long we did not get out til about half past three. Lucy was at the gates with the trap waiting to take us home. When we got there they had dinner waiting for us. We had a few there and they seemed to enjoy themselves. Joe James said he had not felt so well since his wedding. They had all the beer and wine they wanted. Ann mixed hers with a little whisky and got quite jolly. We were all so very sorry you were not there…

From Sarah

Sarah's brother Alfred had missed the wedding. In fact, he had evidently not even been aware of it, having written to the family on November 8, 1879 from Lander without any mention of Sarah's marriage to George two days earlier. Alfred was lodging with the Grimmett family while looking for work.



George and Sarah 1879

In contrast to modern Mormon wedding extravaganzas, the couple seems to have been dropped off alone at the Endowment House and then picked up at the end of the day to join the family, already assembled at Tom's home for the celebration.

None of Sarah's siblings had ever been endowed. In Tom's final years, his daughter Lucy Ann had wheedled him in vain to take Ann to the temple and finally settled the matter herself, standing in for her mother in a vicarious sealing five months after he died in 1922. Jim had been married civilly in Ogden. Mary was almost a year into her second marriage to Joe James, and not a practicing Mormon. Alfred never married and had joined the Reorganized LDS Church (and of course, couldn't have attended Sarah's wedding anyway on account of being in Wyoming), and Hyrum, though very devout, was still too young. However her father James had been sealed to Ann, his second wife, on October 12, 1874 and he and Mary C had been endowed and sealed August 4, 1866. But it does not appear that they were in the Endowment House for the wedding. Sarah's

letter mentions Mary C at the wedding party. I would like to think that James was there also.

George had returned from Mesa the previous November, as he had planned in his letter of July 7. It is probably safe to assume that he and Sarah spent a great deal of time together prior to their marriage in November, though no record of this exists. George's father had sold their home in Paris, but George still had two married sisters living there with whom he could have stayed, if not with his half-sister Sarah Radell at Indian Creek Ranch just south of Dingledelle.

Among Sarah's collected letters is an interesting artifact which must have been significant to Sarah—a baseball scorecard dated July 24, 1879 between the Deserets and the Denver Browns. On the reverse of the card is an advertisement for Hunt and Co., photographers in Salt Lake City, which may have interested her more than the game. The apparent ages of the young people in the Oakey family photograph suggest that it was taken around that time. The occasion was not Sarah's marriage, since Alfred is present in the group.

Front: James, Mary Cooper, Mary Rear: Tom, Jim, Alfred, Hyrum, Sarah, (Lucy in framed painting)

In August Sarah received an entertaining, newsy letter from Hyrum and Emma Grimmett in Lander. Hyrum was Alfred's apostate friend, who wrote that if all bishops were like "Bishop" he would feel a lot different about the church. And Emma, of course, was John Pomeroy's sister, who had lived with the Oakeys in 1870.

The other document in Sarah's letter collection that year was a handwritten set of minutes recording the organizing of the first Cottonwood Relief Society by Sister Julia Lindsay from Paris, probably the Relief Society president there, and William Passey, the Cottonwood branch president, on August 31, 1879. It lists the song, the giver of the prayer and the names of the officers. Among them is Sarah Sirrine, George's half-sister who was soon to become Sarah Radell, as treasurer. Mary C was not among those present, nor was Sarah Oakey named. Seventeen people were listed, most of whom can be located in the 1880 census of Cottonwood or Paris. The writing seems to be Sarah's. I suppose she just forgot to name herself as present.

The entire LDS Relief Society had been inactive between 1844 and 1854, but then Brigham Young reinstituted it to make clothing for the Indians, spreading the organization to all Salt Lake City wards in June. The Utah War put an end to it again until Eliza R. Snow was called to revive it from 1866-1887. The Paris Relief Society had been organized in 1868. Some of the women mentioned in this document probably belonged to both Bear Lake groups. This must have been a great event in Cottonwood.

On February 27, 1880 Alfred was still in Lander with the Grimmetts. He wrote a letter on that day to all his family in Cottonwood at the time, which included George and Sarah, his mother Mary C and his brothers Hyrum and Jim, whose family was living in Ogden. Alfred reported that he had found a job hauling Indian wagons and freight from the Bryan station on the transcontinental railroad up to Pacific Springs, Wyoming. It was possibly this connection that landed George his own job hauling lumber for the railroad a few months later.

Reacting to the large number of sick people reported to him through Sarah's letters, Alfred wryly observed that the Mormons must have lost their healing powers, possibly a reflection of his new Reorganite orientation.

Hyrum Grimmett

I spent some time researching the Grimmetts. Hyrum Grimmett was a few years younger that Alfred. His father John had moved from Paris to Lander in 1873 after joining the Reorganized Church in which he had been interested since living in St. Joseph Missouri in 1860, having returned there from Salt Lake after making the pioneer crossing. Crossing the plains a second time in 1862 to avoid the Civil War guerrilla violence in Missouri, the family moved to Cedar Fort where they knew Moroni Dayton, the father of Lene Dayton, who later married Hyrum Oakey. The Grimmetts moved to Paris in 1865 to get a larger farm for their cattle, then later to Cottonwood for the same reason. Hyrum Grimmett had married

John Pomeroy's sister Emma in 1875 and moved to Lander in the fall of 1887 with his father and brothers. Alfred was in Lander to work on the Grimmett ranch there. Later in 1881 Hyrum's mother Sarah died and most of the family left Lander, which Hyrum regarded as much inferior to Bear Lake for cattle. Hyrum moved back in the mid '80s to Dingledelle, but then returned to Lander.

Hyrum Oakey wrote to Alfred in April. He had received Alfred's letter of the 9th and gotten the money he sent and gave it to Jim (who had probably come up from Ogden to help Hyrum in Alfred's absence.) He got 2 loads of hay from Cheales (They had two quarter sections adjoining Oakeys'). George got two ton off Joseph Wilcox, Jim got three ton off Adam Wilcox. Hyrum had turned the animals out to graze in the hills, but the sheep had eaten it all off. He had enough hay stored to feed them five or six days, but the snow was going away quickly and he thought he could turn them out. He hadn't ridden Alfred's colt because they didn't have enough hay to feed him.

On June 30th, 1880 Dingledelle was visited by the census taker, James H. Hart. He recorded that Mary Cooper Oakey was living in Cottonwood with Alfred and Hyrum. Next door were George Edward Sirrine and Sarah. All three males were listed as laborers and the women as keeping house. Several of their male neighbors were listed as ranchers or herdsmen, suggesting that George and the Oakey boys may not yet have possessed many cattle, but herded for others.

George about 1880

Soon George and Sarah would be writing letters again, enduring another long separation.

On Independence Day George was in Ham's Fork, Wyoming, working on the railroad. His grandfather George Crismon had obtained the contract to grade the railroad to Soda Springs as a part of the Oregon Short Line railroad, which ran on a diagonal line from about where the present Little America Hotel stands, diagonally through southwestern Wyoming through Soda Springs, Idaho, which connected all the way to Portland, Oregon. Grandpa Crismon was no stranger to the railroad industry, having previously contracted to grade much of the Union Pacific railroad line from Omaha to Utah in 1868-9. He had evidently come up from Mesa or from Salt Lake City, where two of his wives still lived. George had driven his own wagon and prized team of draft horses from Cottonwood to haul timbers from forested areas to the rail head as it moved slowly along Grandpa Crismon's grade toward Soda Springs.

George wrote to Sarah that his boss had called George's team the best of all the timber haulers. He was working all but a half day per week and they had already moved the rail line up the river about 10 miles. Grandpa Crismon had heard from Arizona that Esther Ann was getting along nicely, which George duly relayed. George had already earned $10, which he sent with the letter, expecting more soon. They were making enough to afford to pay a woman and two young girls to cook for his crew, though he had to do his own

washing. Except for being eaten alive by mosquitos he seemed happy. The plan was to push the rails as fast as possible and not quit until the snow dictated it.

By July 12, George was writing from Granger, Wyoming. Things were getting lively now that actual track was being laid. The timber haulers were driving 25 miles each way, a two day trip, and sending home $10 every week with guaranteed work as long as the weather held out. His horses were standing the work "first rate," though Old Mag had gotten a sore neck again. He told Sarah to tell Bishop (Alfred) to work Old Dred whenever he wanted so she wouldn't get too wild.

Sometime in August, Sarah wrote that she had received George's letter of August 8 (which we do not have), and that she could not understand why he was not receiving hers; she had written every week for five weeks. The peas that George had planted were ripe, the nicest she had ever seen. Alfred was in Wyoming again as well, being expected home the next day coming to Paris from Evanston with the mail, hopefully with a letter from George. She was glad Alfred had decided to come back because all the farm work was resting on Hyrum. It had rained so much that he had only managed to save 20 loads of hay, and they were very light. Their mother Mary C had decided to stay in Paris, probably with James and Ann, the second wife, to be there when Alfred arrived. Hyrum was planning to pick them all up and bring them across the marsh to Cottonwood. She wanted to know why he never wrote news about Ed and Barney—everyone was asking her. It appears that George's brothers-in-law Ed Bloomer and Barney Radell were working the windfall job in Wyoming as well.

During this time, Sarah had been planning a trip to Park City to visit her friend Mary Cheales. She had wanted George to take her, but since the job had become so lucrative and intense, George advised her to go without him. As she subsequently would show in spades, such daring travel on her own was utterly beyond Sarah's capabilities, so despite Mary's pleadings, the visit never happened.

Mary Cheales

Mary Cheales and her husband Harry had built a house very close to the Oakeys in Cottonwood. During the time George was in Mesa, Mary Cheales had birthed her second child named Eveline in that cabin and then lost her at age seven months, shortly before Sarah's wedding. According to the history written by Mary's granddaughter, the baby died while Harry was away seeking a doctor for medical help, leaving Mary alone in the cabin many hours with the corpse, terrified and grieving. Eveline was the very first person buried in the Dingledelle cemetery.[14] Mary Cheales had been so overwhelmed she insisted that she could never live in that house again, and the

[14] There is no longer a headstone there. I believe the grave is a few feet to the north of Sarah's baby George Alfred.

couple, along with their surviving three year old daughter May, moved hurriedly to Park City. George and Sarah agreed to watch out for their house and take care of their animals for a share of the money when they were able to sell them.

In September, Mary Cheales wrote to Sarah coaxing her to come to Park City for a visit and to bring Alfred, "the deare old fellow" and her mother, too. In her reply Sarah voiced concern that a suspicious character seemed to be squatting in the Cheales house next door.

In the meantime, George continued to crank out railroad work, sending home the good pay. By October 3 he was working in Silver Creek Canyon, urging Sarah and Alfred to go to Salt Lake (and presumably Park City) without him, promising to meet them there in about six weeks. He posed this puzzling question: "Have the folks out there stopped talking about me and are they going to give me a rest?" On October 28 he sent $75 more from Twin Creek, near Kemmerer, Wyoming, planning to stay until November 23 if they didn't get snowed in.

Then on November 26, George received an unexpected, generous offer that would considerably improve his and Sarah's life.

Park City

Nov 26, 1880

Dear Friend

I can see from Sarah's letter that you were thinking about getting my house this winter. You can have it. The "strange looking man" she saw in it was my friend Frank, to whom I gave permission to stay while he was finishing up his hay. Here's a proposition: I'll give you the place as it stands. If you sell it, give me half of what you make. If you don't take it some son of a gun will jump it. I don't ever expect to live in Bear Lake again. I'll send you a receipt as if you had bought it. Keep it quiet so they don't learn anything about it. I hope you're in it for a merry Christmas.

I remain yours. Friend Harry

Harry William Elisha Cheales

And sure enough, on January 4, 1881 Mary and Harry Cheales sent a handwritten document on lined paper relinquishing all claim to the "Ranch" in Cottonwood consisting of the house, 320 acres of land, and all improvements to George and Sarah Sirrine. By then the Sirrines had already moved in. The Dingledelle 1880 census had already showed George and Sarah living in a separate house from Sarah's mother and brothers, so this house would be their third, but probably an improvement.

Harry (William Elisha) Cheales was born in England in 1846. Before he was married he worked at the Globe Bakery in Salt Lake. He and his partner, Frank Larson (almost certainly the

man spotted in the house), also taught dancing lessons. He married Mary Peterson, an immigrant from Denmark, who had been orphaned at age 12 and adopted by one of Brigham Young's wives, Clara Decker Young. The couple met at a dance at Social Hall when she was sixteen and were married the following year. They moved to Ogden, where he sold Howe sewing machines and they had a premature stillborn boy. Then their little girl May was born in 1876. Soon after that they moved to Cottonwood to homestead. The Homestead Act awarded a person 160 acres, so probably both adults "proved up." This would have required them to live for a certain time in a house on each piece, so the Sirrines would have inherited a second building, probably being used as a barn. After Eveline's tragic death they moved to Park City, where Harry worked for the railroad, possibly as a baker, considering his earlier job and the profession listed in the 1880 Park City census, and Mary ran a boarding house. They had another daughter named Lillian Blanche on November 18, 1880 just ten days before Harry gave away their Cottonwood house, who was to become a huge comfort to her mother. Tragically, May died at age five on Lillian's second birthday, leaving Mary with just one living child after four births. Eventually she bore five additional children who lived to adulthood. The Cheales family lived in Park City until 1888, then returned in 1890, and finally moved to Mercer when a mine closed in Park City. Mary Cheales continued to correspond frequently and Sarah saved about a dozen of her nearly illegible letters.

From October, 1880 until August the next year there were no more letters between Sarah and George. They were living together again. During that time Sarah's sister Mary was divorced from J. W. James.

In March the telegraph was connected to Paris. Joseph C. Rich was appointed the operator. He was the apostle's oldest son and a leading citizen in Paris. During the European Mission Presidency of Charles C. Rich, Amasa Lyman, and George Q. Cannon from 1860-62[15] Joseph while still a young man had accompanied his father as a regular missionary. He was appointed the presiding elder of the Nottingham Conference during that time and may have boarded with James and Mary Cooper Oakey. In the 1861 British census he and 13 year old Jim Oakey were living in the same house, but with another Mormon family. Joseph had been acquainted with all the Oakey children when Sarah was a schoolgirl. He had been one of the original settlers of Paris along with his father, and ten years later published the first edition of the *Southern Idaho Democrat*, later named the *Paris Post*. Through his newspaper writing, Joseph was responsible for the development of the myth of the Bear Lake Monster. He became an attorney and a member of the Idaho legislature.

Three poignant letters arrived that year with two things in common: they were from George's younger sisters in Mesa and they all coaxed him to forsake Bear Lake Valley and settle with the Sirrines and Crismons in Mesa.

[15] See chapter 14.

Belle Bloomer

The first letter was sent March 19 by Belle Sirrine Bloomer, a newcomer to Mesa herself. She had come in a group that was formed the previous August when the Cottonwood branch president Will Passey, having become tired of fighting the Bear Lake winters, decided to join the Mesa pioneers. The company included four other Bear Lake families headed by Ed Bloomer, William Kimball, Barney Radell, and Henry Horne. Three of Passey's companions were George's brothers-in-law, married to his sisters Belle, Emeline, and his half-sister Sarah, respectively. And Henry James Horne was George's uncle, who had married Mary Ann Crismon, Esther Ann's younger sister. They had arrived in Mesa November 21, 1880.

Mesa City

March the 19, 1881

Dear Brother and Sister

...we are all well except Ma. She has bin very sick. She has bin in here bed fore 19 days. She cant sit up onley long enouf to have here bed made. Yesterday she was werse but to day she feals better. She is very weeak, the other day when I was in here roome she said, O if I could onley git well what goods times we could have when Georg and Sarah comes down here. She talks about you all the time. I hope you will come down heare next fall. Well I have not told you how I like the place yet. I like it splindley, a grate dell bitter than I thought I would. Pa gave me a nice Citty lot. It joins on yours. We have got a nice garden in. It is up nice and green. We have had radishes and beets to eat. Ed is trying to git a good place started. He has got a bout 50 frut trees and a bout that many grapes vines...

your loving

Sister Bell Bloomer

On July 2 President James A. Garfield was shot. On Pioneer Day, July 24th 15 year old Ella wrote to Sarah.

Mesa City Arizona T.

24 of July, 1881

Dear Sister Sarah.

Your welcome letter came to hand and was read with joy...well how did you spend the Fourth of July. We had a very good time. Ma had all the family to gether all but you and Georg. Well we thought of you all. Last night their was a deth hear, a young man. While he was dying we was dancing hard. We did not now how sick he was until we herd he was ded...it rained for abought two weeks, and raised all the streems around here, it is raining to nite, evry thing is

looking splendid. The peachies are ripe now. Grandpa has two girls my size. Very nice girls, the children all go to school I am going to start in the morning. I don't know how I can get along with the work, but I will go as long as I can. I am very anctious to go this winter. I hate to go and leave Ma but we will trust to Providence in getting along all right…

Sarah when do you think you will come to Arizona are evar. We are very anctious to know if you are coming down hear or not. Bell and Ed are hear. They are well and the children two…Ma seys for you to write soone. Write and tell us you are coming this fall. Tell George to write to me it has just been 8 months sence we got a letter from him and three year sence we saw him.

Just think of that how I wold love to meat him and you to write Why don't you got on the cars and come and surprise us We will let you have a surprise party in the hall if you will come.

Love to all

From Ellie

Like most mothers, Ma (Esther Ann) prized seeing her brood all together above individual visits, although neither had been true for George, who evidently was not writing. Ellie's comment that she had not seen George for three years is a bit of direct evidence that he returned from his first trip to Mesa in 1878, probably before fall if Ellie is being precise. It is likely that Esther Ann was behind her daughters' letters at this point. She rarely wrote herself.

Ellie wrote to Sarah again a few weeks later to tell her that their sister Emeline Kimball had delivered a baby.

….we are all well except Ma. She is not feeling very well to day. Em is geting along fine, her and the baby. She had got a big baby girl. It weighed eleven pounds and three quarters when it was borned. She had a very heard time. The baby is as prity as eny child I ever saw. It has black eyes and black hear and is very good…

Is George at home are not, Ed and Barney are off on the road a frating…does George think of coming this fall…we had a dance hear the other night…

The baby was Paralee Kimball, born August 9, 1881. She did not get any less "prity" when she grew up.

Paralee Kimball

George was not at home. Sarah probably has just received his letter of August 7th from Ham's Fork Wyoming. He had gone back to finish the railroad job that was left unfinished the previous year when the ground froze.

Brig Camp

Hams Fork Aug the 7

Dear Sarah

I thought I would rite you a few lines to let you know I am well and I hope that this will find you the same. I haven't received a letter from you for some time. I sent you 27 twenty seven dolars a bout the 24. Times is quite lively hear now. My horses look first trait yet but they have just came down with the epazretic. I wish I had old Dred heare now. I don't know how long I will stop but I guess as long as my team will stand the work. Theare is a good meny teams turned out sick. If mine gets that bad I will come home to lay off. I don't think that the rode will get completed to bear river this fall. Are they grading any threw that country yet. Your last letter was dated the 18 Jul. That seames like a long time. Well it is getting late and my candle is jest a bout out so I guess I will hafto stop for this time. Hopeing to hear from you soon I remain as ever yours

[P.S.] *Aug the 8*

Dear Sarah

I have not got any time to rite any more now and I hope that I will have a letter from you

Rite soon

Yours truely

G E S

If her last letter was dated July 18 it seems reasonable that there had been another before that, suggesting that George had left Cottonwood around the first week in July. We are also missing a letter from him, which would have accompanied the $27 he sent around July 24. The railroad was probably planned to pass nearby, likely through Montpelier, on the way to Soda Springs if he thought Sarah may have known of grading in that area.

George wrote to Sarah again on September 19, still in Hams Fork. President Garfield died that same day after 10 miserable weeks of infection and medical malpractice.

hams fork Sep the 19

Dear Sarah

…the horses look very well. Bishop is up to the tunel to work a pulling the hamer up to drive spikes. He went yesterday. They had a single team theare but they could not pull the hamer so they sent a duble team. I will bee up theare once or twice a week. They say we will bee sent on Bear river in about two weeks. I guess we will get all the work we want. Mr. Diningham sais he wants us all to stay with him that theare will be plenty of work for us and maby all winter. To morrow is pay day and we are all going to Granger on the Cars. Bishop said for me to send hyrum the forty dolars. I will sent it with this…you speak about your Coult I think you had better sell it before it dies or you loos it and then you wont have any little Coult…

Hoping to heare from you soon I remain as ever yours truly

G E Sirrine

Rite often and I will do the same. Good nite

P.S. [from] *Granger*

I could not get any greenbacks to send hyrum. I will send it the first chance I get. We had a good ride to day the train is about ready to start back…

From the fact that George was sending money to Hyrum, we can surmise that Sarah's brother was taking care of George's farm in his absence. That was probably a big load on Hyrum, since Bishop was also working on the railroad, using his own team to tow the spike hammer, leaving it to Hyrum to manage the Oakey farm as well, not to mention the additional 320 acres donated by the Cheales. Alfred was probably hauling logs alongside George, having answered an emergency call to help with the hammer.

The next month a letter arrived from Sarah Radell, George's older step-sister, who had left Indian Springs Ranch with the second group of Sirrines and Bishop Passey the previous fall. She too was urging George to come south to live with his family.

Oct the 10, 1881

Dear Brother and Sister

…your mothers health is not very good, but is much better than it used to be. Barney and Warren have gone freighting. There is plenty of work and good pay. Well Georg I wish you was down here, that is your Fathers and Mothers earnest prayer that you will come down here. The Macy [Mesa] *is a pretty little town, it has been pretty warm here this summer but we are still alive and doing well. We could stand the heat very well when we could have all the cold watter mellons we wanted, some would think that imposible that we could have anthing cool in Arizona. That is a mistake. The water is as cold as it is any where and the butter as solled and nice as can be. Well Georg if you intend to come to Arizona write and let us know. We heard you was not comeing. A person can hear most anything.*

About the Indians they have been fighting 250 miles from here, they surrenerd and give up their arms. They killed 18 white persons including soldiers. They do not know how many Indians there was killed. They carried away their dead. There is no danger of the Indians comeing here, the Indians are very peacible here. Warren said you must answer his last letter he has never had any reply yet. Well Sarah I have got such a big fat boy four months old about such a boy as Emily Weilers. I would like to have you to write me a long letter. Write all the news. I will be hopeing to hear from you soon.

From your loving sister

Sarah Radell

Cochise

Clearly freighting would be as interesting to George as it was to his brother and brother-in-law. George certainly knew by experience how hot the weather in Mesa was, but still Sarah Radell minimized it hoping to ease the path. I wonder if she was really as comfortable as she suggested with the Indian threat to Mesa. The fighting that she referenced was with Cochise, who was indeed moving the opposite direction from them. He had escaped the reservation at San Carlos about 60 miles away from Mesa with 700 warriors and was heading to Mexico, where they would remain until General George Crook brought them all back in 1884. In addition to Indian threats, Arizona at that time was truly the Wild West. George would later report cattle rustling, stage coach and train robberies in the area, with the Mesa Mormons participating in vigilante justice. Wyatt Earp's famous gunfight at the OK Corral in Tombstone, Arizona occurred only 16 days after Sarah Radell's letter. As a young man, Wyatt Earp had gotten his start as a teamster in 1864 working for Charles Crismon on the freighting route he ran from Salt Lake to Los Angeles through San Bernardino after the Mormons moved out. They also worked together on the transcontinental railroad contract. Crismon contracted for the roadbed preparation and Earp, at least after working hours, promoted fights and gambling among the railroad workers before becoming a lawman in Dodge City, Kansas.

Then George did the unthinkable: he failed to show up on their second anniversary, prompting this generous, measured response from his lonely wife.

Dingledelle

November 6th 1881

Dear George

I have just recently red your welcome letter…it is three weeks since I have had a letter and I have been expecting you home every day. I have been hoping you would be here for today so that we could be together for I think we aught don't you? But I feel better since I got your letter and will try to stand it for 2 weeks more…the check was all right. Many thanks for it, a nice wedding present. Do you rember what day this is? I wonder if you are thinking of me.

I received a letter from you three weeks ago but did not answer it because I thought you would be coming home, so you must excuse me for that. This is four letters I have received from you and four that I have wrote but I have lots to tell you when you get here. I have not been out anywhere since September for I have been waiting for you to come and take me. I am sorry to hear of old Dud. We are having bad luck with her and the colt.

We received the first letter from Fred this morning was glad to hear you are together. Hyrum is not getting on very fast with the kichen for it is so stormy, but we get along pretty well. There was a dance here last night but we were not invited. Evry boddy drunk. Evry boddy is working on the dam they want to put it in this winter. Tell Fred that Fred Sparks and the folks has come. We could not get any one to help kill the pig so Will Oneal came and helped him.

Rosa (probably Rosina Grimmett, not Sarah's cousin) *came up in the evening and we had quite a nice time. We have had a letter from Lucy and one from Jim they are all well.*

Hyrum has got 100 one hundred loads of hay it is seven dollars a ton here. When he went to get the lumber he broke the wagon all to pieces so he cannot haul any wood so don't forget the coal and come as soon as you can for it is too winterly for you to be there now. Mother and Hyrum are well and send their love to you

From Sarah

Good night

Don't stay long

Sarah's letter count shows that one of George's is missing and three of Sarah's. Evidently George was less accomplished at saving them during that period. He was living in rough circumstances. So was Sarah, if she was still without a kitchen. Maybe she was cooking and eating at her mother's house along with Hyrum. Presumably it was not long before George arrived home.

A month later Sarah received an offer from her sister Mary to buy Mary's inventory of millinery at cost. She was selling out to go to California with her boyfriend John Thomas and suggested she was doing Sarah a favor to set her up in a lucrative business. It may well have been lucrative in Salt Lake, but never in Cottonwood, even if Sarah had possessed spare dollars to buy the goods.

Sarah's statement that she had not been anywhere since September was probably meant to remind him that their planned trip to visit her friend Mary Cheales in Park City had never happened. This turned out to be tragic for Mary, who had told Sarah that she had no other friends and only her children to turn to. Exactly one year after sending Sarah and George the title to their Cottonwood ranch, Mary wailed to Sarah in a brokenhearted letter that her beloved daughter May had died. Mary was residing unhappily in Bountiful with the baby and Harry's unsympathetic in-laws and without Harry.

From January 1882 through October 27, 1883 I know little about the relationship of Sarah and George because there were no letters preserved between them. I assume they were mostly together and had no need to write. Their future first baby would have been conceived around April 15, 1882.

Work was halted on the still unfinished Oregon Short Line Railroad until the spring thaw. In previous years it appears that the work did not begin until June or July. George might have participated in the final phases of the Oregon Short Line Railroad project, writing no letters because he worked from home. The railroad reached Montpelier on August 5.

Several letters written during the first half of 1882 were addressed to George via Paris by family members, who likely would have known it if he had been away. As in the prior year, these were from his sisters in Mesa, urging him to come.

On March 5th Ellie, who was by then almost fifteen, wrote during a trip the Gila Indian reservation in Sacaton on the Gila River, thirty miles south of Mesa, where she had gone with a young male friend to visit Gertrude Pomeroy and two other Mesa girls. A month later George and Sarah heard from Belle, who announced that Ellie had just married a young blacksmith named Emmet Hopkins, evidently in a hurry. Although their mother Esther Ann had married a whole year younger it appears that the family was not exactly celebrating.

Maca City Arizona Mary May the 2 1882

Dear Brother and Sister

…O George I do wish you and Sarah wass down hear. We so have such good times, I suppose you know that Sister Ella is mared. She wass mared last Thursday and will give there wedding dance next Thursday. She mared Mr. Hopkins. He is bilding acrost the road from Pa. He is a blacksmith by trade. We went to the dance last night and had a splend time. There wass a dance fore the children in the after noon…O how I wish you could see them and my nice baby boy. He is fore months old. He is so large of his age. Ed and I think he is the prittiest baby in Maca we are very proued of him. We call him Charley…tell Joe that Ed is dowing splendid down hear. He has got tow span of horses tow wagons and he does splendid freiting. He has bought him a watter write and a cow. We have got a good house and are very well pleased with Arizona. Ed had got tow akers and half…If you wass heare Pa and Ma would feel so much better. Ed say he cant see what you are thinking of to stay up there. Your Citty lots are such nice ones you would dow so much better down hear…Warren is just getting rich. He has got such a nice place. Will and Barney are doing well. George do come down hear thiss fall. I know Sarah would like thiss place…Bill Passey and famly are well. He says he don't see what makes folks stay in Bare Lake fore when there is such a good Countrey as thiss is.

On May 11, Ellie herself wrote:

My Dear Brother and Sister,

…Warren has gon of on the rode again. He is not at home much…Ma is real porely at times. She is feeling very well to night. Pa's helth is very good…he is more spry and jolly than he was five years ago…there is a little excitement down there abought the Indians, although we do not feel uneasy about them coming here, I think there is a good meny faulce reports coming in all the time, there is a company of soldiers here at Pa's tonight on there way to Fort McDowell, 18 miles from here. It is abought 200 miles from Mesa where the Indians are so bad...(next she discusses her husband and marriage in detail)...*try to be with us during grape and melon time if no sooner. You asked me how Pa was getting along with his mine. The triel has not come off yet so we cant tell whether he will lose it are not…*

Mr Hopkins joins me in sending love to you…

Ellie Hopkins

Ellie wrote again from Mesa on June 5th. "...60 family members ate and danced in a bowery made for the occasion of Ma and Pa's 29th anniversary"... (I calculate 30th).[16] George's black cow had died the same day. George and Sarah should come down at least by his next birthday.

Poor Mary Cheales was sicker in Park City than she had ever been in Bear Lake, saying she would "end it all" if it weren't for the baby—even Harry had gotten so that "he don't care for anything." She warned that Frank, her husband's ex-partner, who had tried to squat in the Dingledelle house, was in Logan, "playing smart." She hoped Sarah would never let him take possession of the house—she'd rather have them pull it down for firewood. Still unhappy, Mary wrote again from Woods Cross near Harry's folks, but they didn't come near her. Harry intended to build them a house on top of the mountain. She was glad that Sarah would have her mother around to attend to her delivery.

On January 1, 1883 Ellie's boy Willie was born in Mesa.

On January 22, George Alfred Sirrine was born to George and Sarah in Cottonwood. We have no written account of this event. They called him "babe."

Four letters arrived in March congratulating them on their new baby. The first two to arrive were from George's mother Esther Ann and his sister Della, sent in a single envelope.

Della Sirrine

Della, then 13, wrote that she wanted to see Sarah's boy. She was not going to school—there was too much to do. Pa (GWS) had dug a well 52 feet deep. The water was splendid. She added that Ellie was doing poorly and 11 year old sister Maude was staying with her to help take care of her baby.

Esther Ann was glad that Sarah was "getting better" and sent a hundred kisses for the baby. The rest of the letter was a recruitment such as only a mother can deliver. She revealed that Grandma Crismon, Uncle George, Uncle Dud, Uncle John and Cousin Alice Crismon had all come down from Salt Lake to visit. They had been there partying for 20 days, over 50 people, and all wished George and Sarah were with them.

Grandpa Crismon had been 70 years old when he colonized Mesa in 1877. He had five wives. Polly, his first wife (and George's grandmother) had done enough pioneering when they returned to Utah from San Bernardino and stayed in Salt Lake City. Most of Polly's eleven children had been married before the settlement of Mesa and were living with her grandchildren in Salt Lake or surrounding towns. Only her oldest daughters, Martha Jane

[16] Ellie was probably wrong on the month, too. She wrote June 5 on the letter, the asked George what he had done on the 4th, and what he was planning for the 24th. She must have meant to write July. It was George's 29th birthday, not her parents' 29th anniversary. He was born on their first anniversary, July 24, 1853. Their LDS membership record and the California 1852 census both verify the year of their marriage as 1862.

Lewis and Esther Ann Sirrine, took their families to Mesa in 1877, though one other daughter, Mary Ann Horne and family followed in a later group around 1880. George Crismon took his wives Mary Pearson, Louisa Bishoff, and Ellen Wilcox with their collective fifteen then-living children with him to Mesa. He fathered several more there. His fifth wife, Amelia Hassell, had obtained a divorce prior to his leaving. She and their daughter Annie Telula remained in Salt Lake.

Soon afterward George and Sarah heard from Ellie. She had delivered a beautiful 16 pound (!) baby boy with black hair and dark brown eyes in early January. By the time she wrote on March 12, 1883 she was just getting strong enough to write. The Crismon relatives were still there. In July Ellie wrote again that everyone was well.

August 27th on an island in Indonesia the volcano Krakatoa erupted, darkening the atmosphere of the entire world.

Soon afterward George left for Mesa. He would not return to Bear Lake for over four years.

George wrote a letter to Sarah dated October 27. Upon arrival in Mesa on the 26th he had found the Sirrine family in great trouble. Ellie had lost her 9 month old baby Willie to cholera after being sick just three days. Then 12 year old Maude "took the tiford feaver." She had been buried for five days when their mother Esther Ann arrived home from visiting Grandma Crismon in Salt Lake—it was a heavy blow for her. Della was sick and Father (GWS) was worn out from tending the sick in a smallpox epidemic. It was finally over but they had suffered 47 cases.

In his biography of GWS his son Warren LeRoy Sirrine wrote this of the epidemic:

...A. F. MacDonald had a sick boy and he called G.W. Sirrine to see him and he asked what he thought was the matter with him. And he told him that he had the small pox. And MacDonald said that Doctor Longmore said it was an agravated case of prickley heat. And he said that he didn't want him to tell anyone that it was small pox. G.W.S. said he didn't care what Doctor Longmore or anyone else said he knew that it was small pox and if he called it anything he would call it small pox. Well we planted about 44 (forty-four) people here on the Mesa. Doctor Mahoney was county Phasition and he apointed G.W.S. to take charge here on the mesa. So he done all of the quarintineing here on the Mesa. And he had charge of the pest house for nearly two months. And he and his horse and buggie was on the go night and day. And when it was over the board of supervisors sent him a check for $16 (sixteen dollars) and as soon as G.W. Sirrine got it he went to Phoenix and he told the bord of supervisors what he had done and if they thought that was all his services were worth for them to take the check back for he could live without it. Then they told him that C.I. Robson was down theare and see them and they had paid him $80.00 (eighty dollars) for his services. And for G.W.S to go to C.I. Robson and tell him that they had given him the wrong check and for him to give C.I. Robson the $16.00 check.

When George Edward arrived, the boys were on the road freighting. George's horses had stood the trip very well—he planned to go out freighting too, once his stock was rested.

The people thought that George had made a very quick trip. He had travelled with George and Addie Passey and their four kids, who were eight, six, four, and two months old when they left. George was the brother of Bill Passey who had left Cottonwood in '79. He later became the mayor and the postmaster of Mesa. George Sirrine said that he had written twice on the road but had gotten no letters from Sarah, though he had expected to get one in Panguitch. Georgee hoped that Sarah was well and that the baby was getting better by then.

He wasn't, and he never did.

On November 16th Ellie sent Sarah a letter describing the deaths of Willie and Maude in detail that would tear your heart out. In the Mesa cemetery is a modest tombstone that reads: "Willie, born Jan.1.1883, died Oct.3.1883."

The next week George wrote that he was sorry the babe was not better. He had only received one letter and wanted Sarah to write more often even if the letters were short. He had been freighting and would send money. Everyone in Mesa thought the baby would be better if she weaned him—he knew it would be hard on her, but she must try. He'd pay to have a woman there to help. His mother and father prescribed lard and tar for Babe's head.

The next letter I have from George was written over two months later.

Mesa Feb the 7 1884

Dear Sarah and babe

I will try and rite you a few lines. I am very sory to heare that you are feeling so bad and that babe is not geting no better but I am in hope that he and you will bee better by this time. I got home Saturday nite...You ask me to send you some money. I am very sory that I cannot rite now but I will send you some jest as soon as I can. I have some owing to me and as soon as I can get it I will send you some. I bought a wagon and it crouded me. I jest got a letter from Jo. Lewis [Esther Ann's brother-in-law] *wanting to buy the twenty akers of land up theare. I will send you the letter and I think that you had better let him have it. He sais he will pay the money for the land and Bishop can turn it over to him as well as me for it is in his charge...Young Brigham is heare. He has bought him a place heare. He likes the place very well and George Passey say that they dont wanto come back to Bear Lake very bad. Holmes is heare and seem to be suited. ...Well I was vacksnated today... I remain as ever yours truely, G E Sirrine*

Two weeks later George wrote that he was not very well--the vaccination was getting to him. "I went up on the ditch and got my feet wet and it rained on me all day. I took cold and my arm sweled up as big as my leg but is getting a little better now. I dont no but I begin to think I would rather have the smallpox and be dun with it." He had gotten another letter about the land up there from J. Skinner. "You and bishop please yourselves about that."

On March 10 George fretted that the baby was still not well. "I don't know what to think about him nor no what to do. Sometime I think I will sell or give any what I have got in this Country and take the train and go to you." He had not sent money earlier because the river was 15 feet higher than usual and had washed the train tracks away.

I am thinking of going to making Brick. My mares is not fit to go to work for old dude and Mag are going to have colts. Holey lost hers. I have all my horses yet. I will send you fifty dolars the same time I send this. You ask me what I think about you taking babe to the City. I think it would bee a good thing if you wer well anuf to stand the trip and get some good Dr to wate on him. I would ask you to come heare if it wasent for coming rite in the summer and I would come and get you and stop in Sanfransisco with babe and I think it would help you both. Rite me if you wanto and I will bee theare...

The family in Salt Lake was worried about babe too. Lucy Ann wrote to the Dingledelle family on March 17 that Pa (Tom) said to bring him down to Salt Lake. Maybe the air would do him some good. They were expecting Gramma and Sarah down for conference. "Ma says the baby will [not] be better till he is weaned an you had better bring him down and then try and wean him..." If they know when Sarah arrives with the baby they will go to the depot to meet them.

George wrote a brief letter on March 25th. The place was looking very lonely to him. He was planning on going to the mine in the mountains for a week or more. Aware of Sarah's plan to take the babe to the doctor in Salt Lake he hoped she would have a good trip and not be sick on the road and not worry about anything.

Babe died on April 15, 1884.

Chapter 6

Separation

Salt Lake City

April 21, 1884

Dear Gramma Aunt and Uncles

We received your sad letter on Friday and was very sorry to hear the sad news. Little Vinnie cannot get the baby out of her mind. She talkes about the poor little thing all the time. Gerty is all write. She has had one or two more pains at her heart but not near as bad as the one she had at conference…Pa says he thinks Aunt Sarah had better try and come down hear, the weather is beautiful and the trees are all budding out in leaf and we think she would gain Stranth much better down hear.

I was very much supprised and disiponded to find you all gone home I had no Idear of you going before I could see you again or I would have come home in time to have gone to the depot with you. Anyway the conference rush is all over now and I have no work so I will have time to be with you if you will come down it seems like I hardly got a chance to speak to you before...

You must all try and cheer up and think how much better off the dear little thing is out of its suffering. We know it is happy and at rest now. We all send our love and simpisy.

From your loving Grandaughter and Neice,

Lucy Oakey

Lucy Ann and Eliza May 1871

From this letter we can infer that Sarah had taken babe to the doctor in Salt Lake at conference time, evidently on the train with Mary C, Hyrum, and Alfred, and stayed at Tom's place. Lucy Ann was now 20; her sisters Gerty and Vinnie were eight and six. Before Gerty and Vinnie were born and before Lucy Ann was ten years old, she had experienced the loss of four younger siblings. She was no stranger to tragedy. They all died before reaching the age of four.

Babe had died six days earlier. With George in Mesa, Sarah had only the Oakey family for comfort. Many of her friends were now gone as well. Mary Cheales was in Park City. Irene Pomeroy was in Mesa. Sarah Ann Grimmett Sparks and Rosina Grimmett were in Lander. It may have been some solace to her that two of these had also lost babies. Mary Cheales had lost her daughter Eveline at age seven months while living next door in Cottonwood, and then later five year old May. Sarah Ann had lost her first child Beatrice at age six months shortly after Sarah and George were married. I do not know how much support was available from her father, James. Presumably he was in Paris and in touch, but polygamy persecution was heating up and he may not have been around.

Still unaware of the baby's death, George wrote on April 27th that he expected Sarah and babe to come to Mesa in September with Bishop and Mary C. Bishop should sell the mules and the piece of property for whatever he could get. Five more months to wait seemed to him a very long time to wait on top of eighteen (little did he know how long it would really take.) She had worried in her last letter that he was angry; he was not. He would give Bishop and Sarah's mother a building lot in Mesa if they decided to stay. Had he known that money was the issue, he would have sold all that was necessary to bring them.

How disappointing it must have been for Sarah, who had been craving his comfort for weeks.

Then he wrote again two days later, having received the news.

Mesa City April the 29

Dear Sarah

I till try and rite you few lines. I received Hyrums letter with the sad news about our darlin babe. I no it is hard for you. I wish I was theare with you but you must not give way. Think of yourself. I have benn trying to rite all day and it seems to me that I cannot...I will rite agane in a few days so excuse these few lines this time... GES good nite

Mary Cheales had heard the news. She wrote:

Dear Frend Sarah

Youre Letter I received. Was sorry to get souch bad Newes but you must try and foreget for a time and have you know it is better off than when wee seen him suffering so, and you must remember you are not the only one. How I wish you lived neare us so I cold run over and spend a few ours with you but it can't bee. I hope this wil find you all well. Youre Mother I hope she is not worring herself to much if ther is souch a thing…if you are komming try to do so I wil make you as comfourtble as I can…Their was 2 children drownd last week. One was 18 months the other was 14 years. Ther was a man at the Ontario Mill got kild last week, got masht to Death. Hary sends kind regards…hoping to hear from you soon. Write same

Apparently Mary felt there was comfort in knowing that others suffer. Maybe there is.

Ellie and Esther Ann wrote their condolences from Mesa. They reminded Sarah that they had been through this and that they knew God would help her. Esther Ann had lost "...five little boys. And my dear sweet darling Maud had to go while I was away and that made it so much harder for me and all the rest of them...."

Following is Sarah's reply to her mother-in-law. It was now two months after the event, and she seemed to be thinking more clearly about it.

Dear Mother

I just received your kind letter. Many thanks for your love and kind sympathy. I do try to bear my sorrow patiently but it is so hard to be bereft of my little darling for though he was sick he was so much comfort to me and I was in hopes he would get better when we got home, but he did not get any better nor he did not seem much worse till Saturday morning. We done all we could to sooth and comfort him. He wanted me all the time but he knew the rest when they spoke to him. He was sensible till a short time before he died. It is two months tomorrow since he died. Some people tell me that the Medicine that Dr. Anderson gave me was too strong for him but I don't believe it was that (and of course they know nothing about it). The Dr was as kind as could be and I think if we had taken him sooner he might of saved him but he had been bad so long he could not stand it any longer. He was broke out worse when he died than he ever had been. The Dr said he was the worst case he had ever seen but I expect George has told you all about it for I have tried to tell him everything. I am feeling very poorly myself. Mother is not well and she feels very bad. The boys are at home. They are well. Please excuse the few lines. I don't feel that I can write much for I am so sad and lonely. Give my love to all and accept the same yourself. From your loving daughter, Sarah Sirrine.

The next letter we have from George was dated four weeks after babe's death. There was no mention of the event, nor word of comfort for Sarah. He had given up on the plan for a September reunion, hoping she would come with Pomeroys that winter.

Mesa City A.T.

May the 11 /84

Dear Sarah

I will rite you a few lines. I am limpin around some. I cut my knee the other day which had lade me up for a few days but it is getting better now. I will go to cutting Hay tomorrow. I hope that you are well. I havent heard from you for so long that I am a fraid that you are not well. To day is Sunday and I have benn very lonsom. I see Em Pomeroy yesterday. She said that they wer going to start as soon as they heard that the snow was all gone of up theare.

I do wish you would make up your mind and come down with them and stop next winter and if you cant make up our mind to live heare then I will sell out and leave heare. And try and get Bishop to come with you and the rest of them and I will give them twenty acers of land and a City lot for I am very lonely heare and I think you are theare but I wont ask you to live heare if you don't like the place. Of corse the folks can tell you all about the place. Every thing looks nice heare now peaches and apracots are as larg as walnuts now…the river is very high now I don't think it will bee so we can ford it this summer…hoping to heare from you soon I remain as ever yours truly

G. E. Sirrine

Tell Bishop that I haven't received answer from my last letter yet

He wrote Sarah again the following week. He still had not heard from her. There is still no mention of babe. George had the "worst could [cold] I ever had in my life" otherwise, the

letter was all business. Ella came for dinner, they ate string beans, turnips, and peas, the weather is stormy, the folks are at the church meeting. He again mentioned that John and Em Pomeroy were coming for a two month stay in Bear Lake.

I wish you would sell the moules and the little mare and try and come down when they come back and (stay) *heare one winter and look at the country and get Bishop to come and look at the place and I think you would like the place and you would bee heare for the fruite and grapes.*

George was mowing hay and planning to make another twenty thousand adobes as soon as possible.

I wish you would rite and tell me what you are going to do and I will have a hous by the time you get heare…if your folks don't come I will send you back on a visit next summer.

George suggested again on June 8th that Sarah come down when Em and John Pomeroy had made their visit to Bear Lake. Ellie and Emmett Hopkins had moved to Tempe to work a farm on shares for the year.

July 4—Sarah wrote to George:

O my dear George, if I could only see you to unbosom my feelings to you, but I am thankful we can write...for your letters are a comfort to me. I have read them over and over till tears blind my eyes and it does me good for it seems all most like I had been talking to you...It is real late...but I felt like I could not go to bed till I had talked to you...

Three days later she wrote again.

"*I just received your letter dated June 27....Dear George I wrote to you about our little darling's grave, but you did not get the letter. I want a headstone for him and a fence around the grave.*[17] *Do write and tell me what you think of it.*

George answered the question three weeks later—I assume because the postal system was that slow. If so, it was taking up to six weeks for Sarah to receive an answer to any specific question from George (and vice versa): "...you ask about our little babe grave. I think as you do that theare had aught to bee a nice picket fence around it and a nice head bord put up..."

Her father James wrote to his Cottonwood family from Paris that he was working on the headstone they wanted. "...*Brother Brown had to send to Logan for it. He could not yet get seeder* (cedar) *post, but there was some at St. Charles..."* He hoped he could see them at conference and talk about it.

George and his dad were planning to build a liquor distillery and he was beginning to build a house. He was again urging Sarah to come down in the coming fall with Bishop or he

[17] It is in the northwest corner of the Dingle Cemetery.

would come and get her himself. The liquor business got her attention but she ignored the part about coming to Mesa soon. She seemed to be finding herself again.

Dingledelle July 17th 1884

Dear George

I have received your letter dated July 2 and I am pleased yet sorry to hear from you. Pleased to hear that you are well and that you feel so well to me for that comforts me more than all the rest you could say for I know and truly realize that I need your love more now than I ever did. But I am so very sorry that you are thinking of going in that business for I fear that no good will come of it and O how I wish I was there to urge you not to have anything to do with it, for I don't think it is right and we don't want to do wrong. I know my Darling boy don't be so anxious to make money. For that alone cannot make us happy. I hope and pray that we may soon have a comfortable home but without your love and respect all the money there is could not make me happy and I think you feel the same to me (don't you) so be care full what you do and allways be sure it is right for I feel there is more for us to live for than make money. My Dear George we want to live so that we may be worthy to meet our precious babe again and O my darling George let us try and make ourselves worthy of him for if it wasant for the hope that we should have him again I could not live through this great trial.

If I could talk to you I could express my feeling better and that is the reason I think sometimes I make you feel bad for the words seem so cold when I write them to what my feelings are but rest assured my Darling Husband that my feelings are true to you and I desire above all things to be a true wife to you and make you happy if it is in my power.

Dear George I don't try to write my bad feelings, for you know better than anyone else how bad I do feel. Write and tell me how you do feel about it and if you think it is right for I often ask myself but I cannot tell, but I pray that I may have wisdom to know what is right.

Father is here, has been here all week. He is quite friendly. We are thinking of going to the Logan Temple but I don't know when we will go. We had a nice ride to the dam yesterday altogether. The grain looks very nice all headed out. I feel pretty well sometimes but sometimes I feel as weak as ever. I take all the care I can of myself and try to get better I all most live out doors. I am tan worse than I ever was before. You would hardly know me. The weather is quite nice now I am not too sad. You don't tell me how you stand the warm weather. Be careful not to work too hard while it is so warm.

If you could see me I don't know what you would say to me for I cant work at all. Of course I do what I can around the house but if I try to work an hour or two it allways makes me sick so you see I couldn't be much use to you if I was there so I don't try to do anything but take care of myself but I hope to be better someday.

John P (Pomeroy) *called to see us. I had quite a talk with him. He will tell you about it I guess. They are getting ready to start home.*

We went to St. Charles had such a nice time then stayed three days. It has made me feel much better. They are talking of having a picnic on the 24th there. Alice Sparks Cook has had a babe born dead. She was very sick, had Dr. Hoover to see her. She is better now. They feel very bad about the babe. My head is getting quite dizzy sitting still. I must stop for this time. Give my love to your Mother and all the folks. My best love to you from your truly loving wife. Sarah

The trip to the Logan temple was the first of many for her. It had been dedicated just two months earlier May 17-19, 1884 by President John Taylor. The temple had been announced in 1877 just following the dedication of the St. George temple and erected in seven years by about 25,000 workers. The Manti temple was completed in 1888 and the Salt Lake temple in 1893.

"That business" that worried Sarah was the distillery. George had much more to say about it in future letters. Despite his asking, Sarah never exactly told George why this business troubled her. Distilling was not a new idea for the Sirrines. George's grandfather Charles Crismon had built a successful one in San Bernardino thirty years earlier, which was so successful that he was hauled into church court. The issue had not been so much that he was making alcohol, but rather that the business was so prosperous people that suspected he hadn't been paying enough tithing on it. It is likely that he was now mentoring George.

George replied on August 3rd.

Sory to heare that...what I am going into makes you feel bad but I think I can keep m self all right and calculate to control myself in that thing... Please Sarah dont let this whiskey buisnes make you feel bad for I will enshore you that it won hert me and it won't bring any truble to you threw me. I was to a lecture the other evening. Brother Macdonald lectured on the princible of pruel Marage. He explained the princible better than I ever heard it before and was very much taken up with it. It set me to thinking and I have ben reading some for my self senc.

George surmised, probably accurately, that Sarah was worried that the business would lead him into drinking. He protested that he drank no more than he ever had in Bear Lake, which he obviously felt was an appropriate amount. Likely Sarah had been uncomfortable even with that. In his letters George often commented disapprovingly on the drinking problems of others including Sarah's brother, Jim, who seems to have had enough trouble with drink to destroy a marriage. Jim's wife Bessie, who often wrote to Sarah, was disturbingly impacted by his habit, which probably led to the loss of Jim's valuable railroad job and to long absences from home. Bessie didn't complain, but her letters and those of other family members make it possible to piece Jim's unhappy story together. She had a practical way of forging onward and a close extended family in Ogden to back her up. George occasionally expressed disgust for alcoholics in his own family including Ed Bloomer, his brother-in-law, and his polygamist uncle George Crismon, whose drinking led to a divorce.

Sarah was concerned that indiscretion by George might prevent them from joining their lost babe in heaven one day; she was still recovering from the loss. One reason that she gave for remaining in Dingledelle was that she couldn't leave the baby's grave. I don't think she was a teetotaler--she wrote at times without judgment of drinking by other family members. Her brother Tom noted once in his journal, that Sarah had brought him a gift of "wiskey." In those days moderate drinking was not proscribed by the Mormon Church and was common practice even by church authorities, and as George pointed out in one letter, every family in Mesa had spirits readily available.

As far as I know, she never commented on his sudden interest in plural marriage. For me it would have been much more disturbing than the distillery. Evidently after his brief study period he rejected the idea of polygamy for himself since it never came up again. Maybe he had only mentioned it to divert her from the distillery issue. On August 24th George wrote that he and his father had made huge tubs for the distillery. "You think I shouldn't be in that business, but I think I can let it alone and I will. Father wants me to move to the distillery and live there."

Surprisingly, Sarah's sister Mary had written George from Portland, Oregon that she wanted to come down to Mesa with friends to live, asking George to assess the prospects for millinery and dress shops in Phoenix and Mesa. Sarah thought it unusual that he had received a letter from her sister, and surprised to hear that Mary was doing better than when she was there before (apparently this was not her first trip.) "She won't be satisfied anywhere. (Little) Lucy likes the place wonderful well." Sarah apologized for reacting to the distillery as she did. It was just that she had been thinking he would settle into farming. She was confident that drinking was not a problem for him and glad he was going to church. She hinted that her mother was the reason she hadn't come to Mesa—Sarah would come if it were in her power. She couldn't fix her mother and would be miserable in Mesa knowing Mary C was suffering without her. Torn between the two of them, I think she felt that George could stand the separation better than Mary C could.

A general pattern emerges in all the letters between Sarah and George. I have included the July 17th letter in full as an example of the rest. During the time covered in this chapter (April 15, 1884, when George Albert "babe" Sirrine died, through March 1887 when George returned to Bear Lake) Sarah and George saved 103 letters. Fifty of them came from other people, mostly family members. Sarah wrote 26 to George and he wrote 27 to her. To quote every one of them here would be tedious, so I will summarize most. Because of the 3-4 week postal lag, sometimes two or three letters were written before an answer to a question came back, so to preserve the train of conversation I will not always report letters strictly in chronological order.

Their letters were similar physically. Almost all were written on letter-sized paper, first folded in half, and then turned with the fold to the left to produce four half-pages of text to be read like the pages of a book. When out of space, margins on the top and sides were filled with words, requiring the reader to rotate the paper. The letters were also similar in

content, usually beginning with a reference to the most recently received letter (or complaining that the expected one had not come), a statement of the writer's health and a hope that the other was healthy, and then an account of the health of mutual acquaintances, the weather, and local news. Both writers expressed loneliness and love, and a hope for reassurance that the other still felt the same way. At this point they would diverge. Sarah would give the reasons why she could not come to Mesa: She was too sick. She could not leave the baby's grave. She would not be able to stand the heat. Her mother needed her. She was afraid to travel alone. No one was available to take her. George would give all the reasons that she should come: You will be healthier here. You can avoid the cold Bear Lake winters. I'm building a house and life for us. Your mother can live with us. I'll give property to Bishop. I can make a good living here. I'll buy you a train ticket. This is a fertile land of plenty.

My plan for the remainder of this chapter is to focus on the news component of the letters, ignoring the "boilerplate" except where it impacts the story, and omitting many expressions of love, loneliness, and need for reassurance and much of the back-and-forth discussion of why and why not to get back together again. I do not mean to minimize these, and will do my best to address them at the end of the chapter. The question of why George and Sarah were apart so long is the most important theme of this chapter. The forces that caused their separation are the unifying idea of the entire book.

On October 16, 1884 Sarah was in Salt Lake with her brother Tom's family after visiting Jim's family in Ogden. She had gone down by train earlier to attend general conference. Her father James had written a rare letter to her in Salt Lake City, apologizing for not writing sooner. He was in Dingledelle (he still called it Cottonwood) where he was living with Mary C, very busy with farming and building a granary. The context of the letter suggests that James was accustomed to making Salt Lake visits himself, since he requested Sarah to ask Tom questions about a project they had been doing together and to take a personal message to a Brother Butt.

Sarah Ann Taylor

He mentioned that he had attended Sarah Ann's funeral in Paris on October 5th, probably not without fear of being arrested for polygamy. Persecution was at a high point in Idaho, which is probably a reason that James was not in his Paris house. Sarah Ann Taylor Minson was James' stepdaughter, born in Nottingham to his polygamous second wife Ann in a prior marriage. She was 11 years old when James and Ann were married and lived with them in Paris. When Sarah Ann was 19 she herself became a second wife, to Thomas Minson, a shoemaker and harness mender in Paris who was already the father of 13 children. Because of polygamy persecution, Sarah Ann had been forced to spend most of her pregnancy in Minson's cellar beneath a trap door covered with a rug. Catherine, the first wife, would knit while rocking on it when polygamy agents were around. On September 18 Sarah Ann gave

birth to her first child, who she named Wilford, but both died three days later. She was buried in the Paris Cemetery with her baby in her arms.

George reached Sarah in Salt Lake in response to a letter she had sent from Ogden in which she reported on Jim's family. He was sorry to hear Jim was having trouble with drinking. George himself had not been drunk once since coming to Arizona, not to brag, despite wine in every house and a store of over three hundred gallons of peach and grape brandy on hand from his still. Things were "dull" just then (their term for slowing of business and job opportunities), but he had found teaming getting a little better, which was just down his alley. He wrote that polygamy persecution was heating up just then in Mesa.[18]

George wrote that he expected Sarah for Christmas and had been announcing that to everyone, but that she hadn't given him an answer. He had dreamed about her that night and saw her as plainly as he ever did. He often dreamed of her, but had to content himself with the thought that they would soon be together. He spoke of plans for a possible sugar factory in Mesa and of the terrible crowd of young folks there, and they were some very fast ones, too.

Another letter from George on November 2nd reached Sarah at Tom's house. He reported a stage robbery and answered a series of questions posed by Sarah in a letter which we do not have, that she had written from Ogden. She had expressed worries about his sleeping arrangement—perhaps he was sleeping on the lot where he was building the house or out of doors by a campfire as he drove animals. He was in no mood to be babied and clearly frustrated that she did not seem to be getting his message that she should come.

You say you dont know whether Jim can sell the mules or not. I would say sell them for what you can if you can't get $150 for them then sell them for $100 or just what you can and the little mare the same…You say for me not to sleep in that place any more for it scares you. But there is no danger in my getting hurt. If I had of thought I wouldn't of told you anything about it. You ask me to tell you what I want you to do. Well I will. I would like to have you to come down here with me and stay this winter anyway and I will promise you that I will send or take you back to see your folks. If Bishop will come with you and look at the country I think he will like it well enough to move here. Of course I know how you feel about leaving your folks, but I will do everything that lays in my power for you and you alone, for you are the one that I want and no other and I would like you to tell me when about what time you think you can start and I think I can make you happy.

There's nothing unclear about that.

The last week before Sarah returned, her mother chimed in with a letter she had dictated to Hyrum. Mary C was supposedly illiterate and often used a scribe, though when necessary it turns out she could pen a highly expressive letter. Typical of her, the letter was full of motherly, micromanaging advice. She wanted Sarah to know that they had heard at stake

[18] See page 224.

conference that the train fare to Logan was changed to $7.50 with 10 days layover time. Ma thought it would be a treat for Sarah to stay in Salt Lake for Christmas, she could get along (without her). Would Sarah price a circular cloak for her? And Ma had heard nothing about the bonnet. She wanted it all black with a tip or two, very nice ones.

This reminds me of what her grandchild Mamie (my grandmother) wrote of Mary C in her own autobiography decades later, "Grandmother was a very neat, small lady as I remember. She always wore a white vest. Her hair had a bob at the back, and she had a black velvet bonnet rolled back from her face."

This might be the picture of Sarah that Bertha saw.

Lucy Ann Oakey

Sarah had been away for over six weeks when she returned from Salt Lake around November 14th. Her niece Lucy Ann came to Dingledelle with her, taking the train back through Ogden. Upon hearing that the girls had arrived safely, Bessie wrote some follow-up. Jim still had no work, but didn't drink as hard since their visit. (This was probably wishful thinking.) He had gone into the mountains on a hunt the previous Friday and Bessie hadn't heard from him—the letter was written on Thanksgiving Day[19], so he had been AWOL for nearly a week and probably back to hard drinking. Bessie wrote that her little Bertha (10 months old) was still pointing at Sarah's picture. No doubt Sarah's recent loss had drawn her full attention to this little niece. Sarah's love for little children is legendary.

George had been struggling with a lame back since early November and housebound for the first four or five days of December, hoping to get back to work in a few more. It had made him all the more homesick. He said that being laid up wouldn't be so bad if Sarah were there with him. He pointed out she hadn't said anything about when she planned to come—whatever the answer, if she would just give him a definite time he could probably deal with it. All she would ever say was "it won't be long."

Five days later he wrote again. His back was now well and he'd been thinking positively. His sister Belle was there with her children. He was sorry to hear the Sarah was feeling sick, but confident she would be well if she were only there with him in the healthy climate.

[19] This was the 21st modern Thanksgiving to be celebrated on the fourth Thursday of November following Abraham Lincoln's proclamation to commemorate the Union's victory at Gettysburg.

He was confident the business was going to pay. They had about 150 hogs and a good deal of money in them. He and Pa could make 30 gallons of whiskey a day and the slop would fatten the hogs. There would be a good deal of expense attached to it, but they would do most of the work themselves—but he didn't want to make her tired reading about it….Who was the girl that Hyrum had gone to visit?

I know the answer to that: Hyrum had gone to Cedar Fort to visit Selena (Lene) Dayton, whom he would be marrying in three months. Apparently Selena have been living in Dingledelle for the previous three years or so with her father Moroni Dayton and his first wife, Sarah Nichols, Selena's maternal aunt, but had gone back to Cedar Fort to visit her mother, Elizabeth Nichols. Elizabeth had become Moroni's third wife as a matter of practicality when her first husband of many years John Berry died, leaving her a widow with five children. The families had been neighbors at Cedar Fort. Selena's mother had preferred to remain in Cedar Fort with her Berry children rather than move with Moroni to Idaho.

Apparently after Jim had disappeared on his hunting/drinking trip he hadn't returned to Ogden at all, but finally showed up in Dingledelle, where Sarah and Lucy Ann found him working with his brothers. Sarah dashed off a letter to Bessie to give her the news. Bessie wrote back on the 15th, glad to know where Jim was. She had been to the post office every day to see if there would be a letter from him. *"Why did he not write a few lines to me? Tell him that Bertha still looks for Opa out of the window. She is beginning to talk and will be walking by the new year. The children all say they send their love to Papa. Tell Jim that Mr. Emmett got work as soon as he got up there…tell Jim to write to me when he thinks of going away from there, and if he is going up north for him to send me the Office Key in a letter. Tell him John West has gone north to take a conductorship between Butte and Garrison."*

Elizabeth "Bessie" Sarah Davies

Now that is one patient wife.

Evidently Jim was working his way north to try for another railroad job. Butte, Montana was a red hot mining town and a railroad connection from Ogden through Montpelier to Butte and Garrison was opening up.

George wrote again on December 18th. He was lonely and perplexed.

"*I am afraid that I do make you feel worse but you no that I dont want to for I think of you all the time and you are the onley woman in this world that I want or love and I think that you think the same about me... O Sarah I wish I could talk with you tonight and lonely if you will*

excuse me for this time and I will try and do better next... If you come I wont want you to stop hear for always. You can go back a most as soon as we us (used) *to go from Bear lake to SLC so it wont be cleare out of the world and I think you had aut to bee with me part of the time any way...*

On Christmas, George wrote,

...[it] *was the dulest Chrismas I ever seen…theare was a dance at nigt but I dident go…I generly have my good time at work now fore then I don't have much time to get lonsom.*

He had a dream the night before in which,

I see you as plain as I ever did in my life and jest as natyrl but it was onley a dreem…but they say dreems always go to the contrary.

In January Bessie wrote that Jim was working irregularly as a fireman on locomotives out of Silver Bow, Montana, near Butte. This was a hub of the Utah and Northern Railway, the most profitable branch of the Union Pacific system, from which minerals were hauled to Portland, Oregon and to the east coast. Bessie was making what money she could, knowing how expensive Jim's board was.

George's sister Sarah Radell's baby was not very well. He described it as quite sickly, very small and weak and not yet able to sit up. Since most normal babies do not sit up before six to nine months, this one was probably born before June 1884. The last child attributed to Sarah Radell in her genealogical record was a boy named John, supposedly born and deceased in 1882 without any documentation. If this sickly baby was John, the record has very inaccurate dates. I think it is more likely this is a subsequent child, and have added it to Sarah Radell's record. Later, on March 24 George mentioned that the baby had died after much suffering. I imagine much of the suffering was done by his mother, especially if she lost two consecutive children. Sarah Radell was 37 and had no more children after that.

In the January 25, 1885 letter George also mentioned that Ed Bloomer

...let up on his drinking, but there is not tellin how long he will stop it. Theare was two Compney of solders stoped at fathers the other night. Theare after the Mexecans. Theare is a lot of the Mexecans came over the line on the war path killing and Stealing everything before Them but the solders is on Theare trail and I guess they will soon over hall them. They have don lots of mistuf. Now theare is a good eal of Uneasiness about them.

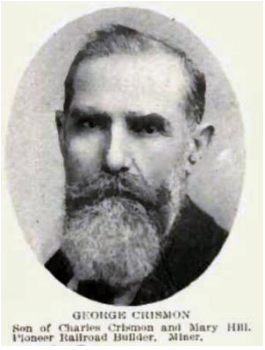
The men Heare that is in Polygama is Getting quite uneasy now For the time for theare trile is drawing near and they are all most Shore to go to jail for about 5 years they think. I feel sory for them for the Most of them are Poor and got Large famleys. I don't know what Will become of them if theay are Surved like thos that went To jail last fall.

Sirrine Hotel

The soldiers had been at George Warren Sirrine's hotel, the first one in Mesa. On April 15, 1900 it would burn to the ground in 1½ hours despite the efforts of 150 men. Luckily the hotel was insured and his new house and his old house were both saved.

February 10th George reported that his Grandpa Crismon had come from Salt Lake City for three weeks. With wives in two states and his many business interests, he was always on the move, much aided by the ever improving train connections. The revenue officers had stopped the distillery from running—there was so much red tape George was not sure they could ever start up with grain again. They ended up making grape and cherry brandy.

George mentioned that his half-brother John Crismon's wife had left him for drinking all the time and was getting a divorce. I could find no record of this divorce—records are sparse for this period in Salt Lake where they were living, but they had no children after their girls born in 1881 and 1883 and Jennie was shown as divorced in a later census. She was living with her folks. John was George's uncle, though they were only 17 months different in age. They were probably good friends in San Bernardino until George moved to Paris.



GEORGE CRISMON
Son of Charles Crismon and Mary Hill. Pioneer Railroad Builder, Miner.

George Crismon, another uncle living in Salt Lake, told him that his wife Mary was thinking of moving to Mesa. George C. was a polygamist and both of his wives were named Mary. Mary Louise was 58 and had 16 kids living in Salt Lake. Mary Ann was 33, but already had seven young children herself. I suspect he was speaking of the younger one. He probably was thinking that splitting up his two Marys would be a good move for him because of polygamy persecution. If he did move Mary Ann to Mesa it was not for long. They had a child born in Salt Lake in May of 1886.

George had ordered bricks for the house and was planning to go back to tunneling the mine in the mountains with Will Kimball for a couple weeks. They hoped to dig twenty feet.

He enclosed two sad poems cut out of newspapers. One was titled "Together." In part it reads:

My hand is lonely for your clasping, dear
My ear is tired, waiting for your call;
I want your strength to help, your laugh to cheer,
Heart, soul, and senses need you, one and all.
I droop without your full frank sympathy-
We ought to be together, you and I.

We want each other so, to comprehend
The dream, the hope, things planned or seen or wrought;
Companion, comforter, and guide, and friend
As much as love asks love, does thought need thought
Life is so short, so fast the lone hours fly—
We ought to be together, you and I.

He wrote "G. E. S." on the clipping.

George had arranged to get a brick kiln worth $38,000. He thought he could sell part of it and have enough money to put up a nice little house. He had already started one, but did not put in a garden since he was at a standstill about her coming. Having heard that Hyrum was planning on marriage, George felt that this would free up Sarah. Her parents were now living together in Dingledelle. Hyrum was now taken care of. Bishop was already interested in Mesa. A railroad spur was being built from Phoenix which would reach within three miles of their new house, which was already looking like a very nice place. What could possibly be holding her back?

Hyrum and Lene were married in the Logan Temple February 25, 1885. Taking full advantage of the family trip, the Oakey family spent three days doing temple work for family members. James Oakey performed ordinances for his great grandfather, Joseph Oakey. Sarah nearly wore herself out doing 16 proxy baptisms. George thought that her having done so many proved that she was getting braver.

Sarah replied March 2, thanking George for the flower that he had sent, evidently in the envelope with his letter, and asking him what kind it was since she didn't know enough about flowers to identify it. It would probably have required a botanist to identify it after enduring such a trip. She continued:

I don't feel as well as I did in the winter. Have been nearly sick the last week but I feel so bad for I don't know what to do. Fred wants to come but he has no means and I don't know what they (James and Mary C, who were back together) *are going to do. I think Mother will come with me but she does* (not) *say anything. She is very feeble and poorly but I don't think she can stay here now. You said you did not think I would come but I don't think I ever said anything of the kind. If I did I never meant it for I want to do whatever you want me to if I can. I feel the same as I ever did. I know you think I will feel better when I get there. But I don't think so. I wish I could for your sake but you know how I feel better than I can write it and I feel like I will stand it the best I can for your sake if it will make you feel better for I know you feel lonely and sad without me as I without you and if there is anything I can do to make you feel better I will, but don't expect much of me.*

Fred says he don't know whether he can sell the mules or not. They have not found my little heifer yet. I have one cow left and that is all, so I want you to tell me what I had better do. I have tried to get Fred to write you but he don't know what to do or say.

Oh George I am so thankful you tell me more how you feel it so made me think you have more confidence in me. And I am real glad you are going to build us a home. Tell me all about it and how you get along. I hope we may be happy yet thought it seems so dark to us now. I feel more resigned since I was at Logan and I don't care where I live if I can only live to be worthy to receive our little darling again I feel like that is all there is to live for, for me. But Oh my darling please don't let me make you feel bad again for I don't mean to. Write me a good long letter like you did before. Many thanks for it George. I could not tell you how much good it has done me. Have as much patience with me as you can. I want to do what is right but it takes a good deal of moral courage to bear up under all things but I will do as near right as I know how. Write to me as soon as you can and tell me what you think about it. My love to you George from your own loving wife, Sarah.

I included this lengthy transcription because I cannot adequately paraphrase it, let alone comprehend, though I will try. The reader can judge.

George had made a strong rational case for Sarah to come; Sarah replied with emotion. She was distressed, did not know what to do. She tried to refute his arguments: Alfred would come but he could not afford it. Mother would come, but her plans with Father were uncertain and she was too feeble to stay in Dingledelle alone. Sarah denied having ever said she would not come, but did not agree with George that she would feel better in Mesa. She would go and bear it for his sake if he believed it would make him less sad, but he should not expect it to work.

She was glad that he frankly said he loved her and was lonesome for her. She was glad he was building a house for them. She still hoped they could be happy, though it now seemed dark for them. After her spiritual experience in the temple she felt more resigned to any outcome. Despite loving George she only lived to see her baby again. His letters helped. She was doing the best she could, wanted him to be patient as he could. She didn't want to hurt him. Significantly, she did not ask him to come to Dingledelle.

She seemed resigned to live with separation, grief, and pain. Her approach for them was to endure patiently and love each other.

He wanted resolution. His approach was practical: list the obstacles and eliminate them one by one.

They came from two different worlds.

George responded with yet more logic: Hyrum is married now. We ought to be together. I promise that if you stay a little while and don't like it I'll sell out and take you back. Work is slow, but very promising.

Then he wrote that polygamy persecution was heating up:

Times is quite lively heare just now for theare is an officer on every corner after Polygma and witneses. Theare is about half of the town summond down theare and they are after more. Cort opens on the sixth of next month. The mashell was heare the other day. He sais the great

trouble is that he cant find the Second wimen. Theare is about three men heare in town that is making all the trouble. They can get everything out of them that they want.

About that time James received a letter full of accusing questions from his non-Mormon brother William Oakey in Nottingham, who had been reading the newspapers and was suspicious about polygamy.

Things could have been worse for George and Sarah--at least they were not polygamists.

On April 14, 1885 Sarah made a Logan temple trip on her own. Then impulsively she traded her return train ticket for one to Salt Lake City and made a surprise visit to Lucy Ann and the rest of Tom's family to console herself. She attended general conference and ended up staying for over two months, her letters becoming much more cheerful and positive. Apparently the folks in Dingledelle were getting along just fine without her, though the letter writing doubled.

The first letter came from Lene, Hyrum's new wife, written April 27th in Dingledelle. They had been missing Sarah. It had been lonesome with her gone especially for Lene. She had known Sarah for several years, but they became peers after Lene's marriage, the only young women in the Dingledelle Oakey clan. The family had been looking for a letter from her *"for a long while"* (about three weeks). "Your Maw began to feel quit uneasy about you. Wanted to hear so bad." Mary C and Lene were working on the rag rug. Ma wanted Sarah to inquire about some carpet warp and find out which the best brand was and how much it cost and what she thought was the best color. The boys wanted Tom to shop around for fence materials to ship to Montpelier for them. Two of Sarah's cows had little heifers.

Your Paw hasent been over to Paris since you left. The Pligmest are most all hid up. I guess you got your Father's letter before this. (If so, I wish she had saved it in her collection!) *Your Ma wants to no if you are homesick or if you want to come home. She says she dident think that thair was much prospects of them comming down this summer.*

The next letter came from George. He was surprised, but glad that she was in Salt Lake. He had bad news. And good news.

The bad: Sarah Radell's sickly infant had died. And so had Irene Pomeroy Newell. She was 31. Irene was the sister of John Pomeroy, the girlfriend Sarah's age who was living with the Oakeys in Paris in 1870. She had been doing "poorly" for some time, but then they had thought she was getting along splendidly and she was up and around until about four o'clock when she took worse and died at nine in the evening. (Her modern descendants have written that she could possibly have died of appendicitis complications.) The family waited to bury her until a minister could come from Phoenix because they wanted a Methodist service. Newell and the children took it very hard. She left four little girls ages five, seven, nine, and ten. Em Pomeroy, her sister-in-law, fainted away when she saw the corpse and was still doing poorly.

The good: Evidently George's arguments had hit home with Sarah. He understood that she was coming to be with him in September.

That is a long time, but it is not compared with two years. Well Sarah I am almost Hating myself to deth to think that I dident send you the money to come with but Sarah I thought the boys could sell the mules or the land. But I want to look to that and more. I will try and send you some money rit away.

Well, she was coming, but it would not quite be that soon.

And he wanted to know how Hyrum and Lene were doing and had she seen Mary (her sister) yet?

Yes, almost. "Mary is here in town, but I have not seen her yet. She passed Tom on the street the other day and did not speak to him. She is so high toned." There was some friction in the family concerning Mary and her daughter Little Lucy. In a letter to her parents she gave a little more detail. Mary and Little Lucy had visited, but waited on the corner until Rose left Tom's house. Sarah had a chance to speak with Lucy, but not with Mary, who is "always dressed in the height of fashion." Sarah continued with an update on polygamy.

I've heard from home—they are well. They say that Chris Nelson and Dave Wright and a marshal from Boise[20] are at Paris making a big fuss with the polygamists. They have all hid up that can.

Then she discussed their relationship and plans.

I have been half sick all the time. Have not been out yet. You say you are lonely and have the blues but Oh George I hope you don't feel like I do. You say that you wish I was there. So do I. Or that you are not here for I do want to see you so much….It is not my fault that I am not there. I don't feel like I have anything to stay for now since we have been to Logan but Fred thought I had better wait for him and I have no money to come with at present. They keep saying they will sell something, but they never get a chance. I'm so glad you are going on with the house. Save me some mellons and tell me if you think I should come alone and not wait for them any longer. Don't feel bad. Don't worry about the distillery. I would not feel bad if you did not run it again…we could live without it, but when I come I shant let you have any more to do with it so make up your mind.

Now that Sarah had committed to come, she could be assertive: It's me or the distillery.

In an uncharacteristically long and cheerful letter George responded indirectly to that challenge:

…I will do everything I can to make you happey. You say for me to make up my mind to draw out of the liquor Buisness. What is your reasons or do you think that whiskey will get the best

[20] Fred DuBois, page 235

of me. I will enshor you that I don't drink any more than I did when I was thear and I dont think that it will get awy with me but I don't think that we will run on grain. Ill jest work up the fruit for theare is so much red tape about it that I don't think we can stand it altho I do think it is a good buisness.

Then she wrote to Paris about the conditions in Salt Lake, reporting on conference. The speakers were substitutes, mostly sons of holed up general authorities, though Angus M. Cannon, the Stake President, made a surprise speech. He had just been found guilty, facing sentencing next Saturday but didn't seem to fear it.

Tom's family began reaching out more to cousin Rosie. She was a second wife, and since the persecution had intensified, she was out of contact with her husband. The new policy had left her alone and financially troubled, even though her husband belonged to the wealthy Cannon family.

On May 14 Bessie sent Sarah an informative letter addressed to Tom's house in Salt Lake. She had heard that the Paris stake conference had been raided and 10 polygamists had been arrested, but their father James Oakey was not among them.

Bessie also reported that Alfred had gone to Lander to work with the Grimmetts. (This never actually happened. The trip had to be cancelled when James went to Salt Lake because Hyrum could not handle the farm alone.) Tom was facing a lawsuit involving his new home. Rosie was suffering due to polygamy. Mary and Little Lucy were "...stiff. It would be much better if they would do right." A week later she wrote to Sarah again, trying to help arrange a trip to Bear Lake Valley with a friend from Ogden if Sarah would first spend some time with her and Jim, possibly bringing Tom's whole family along including Lucy Ann's new fiancé Bill Evans. If she couldn't find a ride, Jim would drive her home himself.

Sarah did not have enough money for the train ticket home—she had been waiting for her parents to come down for conference, hoping to return with them. But her parents had decided not to come to Salt Lake, foiling her plan and upsetting Tom and Ann. Evidently this was not the only time that Mary C had stood them up. Sarah had addressed two letters to her parents in Dingledelle during May, but in June, she mentioned seeing her father at Tom's house. James was now living at the home of his daughter Mary and Little Lucy, having fled Idaho to the comparative safety of Salt Lake City and with no plans to go home any time soon.

Bessie was not the only one trying to arrange rides. George's sister Ellie got her nurse to write a letter from the hospital in San Francisco instructing Sarah on how to take the train to Oakland, the ferry across the bay, and the streetcar to the hospital. "Miss Hopkins" had been there for six weeks, was feeling stronger, and needed company. I think Ellie figured that if she could get Sarah to go that far she might decide to take the train right on through to Phoenix and to George.

George wrote that work was slow and money hard to come by in Mesa. However, they could now drink cold water once in a while--a large pork packing factory was starting up near them, processing 100 pigs per day and selling ice at a cent and a half per pound. In his next letter he wrote:

I was at Em's today. A young lady from Phoenix played on the piano and sang some of the old songs you sing and it made me feel so lonely. Ellie is feeling much better. I'm going to Phoenix to haul hay for about four weeks. I'll try to have a house for us by September—hope you'll be here by then. I'll try to stay on the road most of the summer. We will start the still up right away, but I'll stay with the team. I'll send you the money to come in three or four weeks and don't feel bad if you don't get letters regularly—I'll do the best I can. I just heard that Gertrude Pomeroy is going to Bear Lake to visit. You could come down with her. Have a good trip home and write a long letter.

On June 20 Lucy Ann mentioned that Mary and John had come by. John W. Thomas was Mary's new suitor, whom she eventually married. She had divorced Joe James four years before; I suspect John may have had something to do with that.

As it turned out, Sarah got some money and took the train back to Montpelier. Hyrum came for her at the station and drove her home. She wrote a long letter to George to prepare for the trip to Mesa. She had come back home but was sick in bed for three days since arriving, though now improving. She was too sick to walk, so hadn't yet visited "our little Darling's grave." It was now 14 months since George Alfred had died.

Mother is not well, but she says she will go with me if I want her to, but I don't know what to do for fear she would not be satisfied with the place. You know better than I do and write me and tell me what you think. She will not come if Fred don't, but I think he will and I think he could make her comfortable if he could get work and she would feel better than to be left here, and of course I would feel better to have her near me.

Fred did not go to Lander, for Father left and Hy could not get a long…they have got the bottoms fenced.

Fred seemed to be working hard to help Hyrum and to free himself to go to Mesa. She hoped he would,

...for it won't seem quite so bad if they come with me. But Oh George, I have such a dread of going and I often wish you would come back. There is lots of folks think I am foolish to go and that I don't coax you to come back…but I tell them that I think you know best…and if you want me to come I am going to go… Hy says he will never come and Lene don't think of it but they are well fixed here and I don't want them to come. They get along first rate together.

June 25. I didn't finish my letter for I have been so sick I could not write. I have had two chills since I got home and feel real bad yet, though getting better every day. Bessie wrote that Lenie Duffin died in Ogden, leaving a 9 day old baby. They'll bring her home to bury her.

June 26. Fred just brought me your letter. I'm glad you're well and that you will have the house done. I don't care if we only have one room so that I can live in it when we get there. Fred says he wants to have a room for himself. He says she (Mary C) *will be content to stay, but she says she dont think of staying any longer than spring. Fred thinks he can make enough to bring him back and he is determined to come with me, so I'll give up my plans to come with Gertrude* (her niece, Tom's daughter.) *Tell me what to bring and if the freight will be very high. Must I bring my bed?*

In July Sarah reported that part of the reason Alfred had passed on going to Lander was to prepare to come to Mesa with her. Her mother would rather come along than to see Sarah go alone while feeling so bad, but feared that the house would not be ready for them. Father was still in the city—she had not heard from him in a long time.

George replied that he thought he could have a house ready by September. He hoped that Sarah could stop in San Francisco and look in on his sister Ellie on the way, who was expected to be hospitalized at least until November. He was at home, sick after spending a day on the river fishing. They had caught 75 fish, the largest weighing 15 ¾ lbs. They were using "joint powder" for bait. Soon afterward George declined a hunting expedition to stay ahead of work, suggesting that he and Sarah could do it together next year. Then this:

Well Sarah I wish I could tell you Something that would make you feel better. I will do all that I can to make you feel better. I will do all that I can to make you feel happy and feel well. I believe that I have ben good to you and if I havant it was threw my not noing how and I always want to, for Sarah you I love and you alone and want to live for you altho sometimes things looks Black to me as they do to you. But God nose that I never done anything very bad. And I don't feel angry towards you in the least and would ask you to chear up and we will be happy. I no that I have talked mean to your ma but humbley ask forgiveness for what I have said when I was mad and if your Ma wants to come here I will treat her jest as well as I no how...If I have made you feel bad, Sarah, forgive me for heven nose that I never ment to and dont think that I am angry at you for I am not and I am weightin for the line that you will start to come to me and we will be happy together.

I do not know how or when George "talked mean" to Mary C. That would certainly have been a grave mistake, and possibly part of the reason it had taken so long to get Sarah to Mesa. I can find no other mention of it.

He gives this update:

Theare is a good eal of Stealing Horses around heare and Stage robin. Theare was two fine Horses stole Heare the other night. Will Crismon and a nother man went after them they had to kill one of theam and wounded the other one. They jest got in. The Stage was robed last night. The officers gest went threw town after the robers. Theare is more robin and Stealing in this Country now than I ever herd of before.

Indeed. This is not the only mention George makes about lawlessness and vigilante justice. A few months earlier George had written:

The stage was Robed a few days ago. The officers jest went threw with the robers three in number theare is a good eal of that buisness agoing on heare but they make it warm for them when they ketch them.

Stage coaches flourished in Arizona after train travel became common, since that is how travelers finished their journeys. It is likely that George had some financial interest in the stage business, which would be a natural for him. In Sarah's letter collection is a business letter[21] regarding the sale of coaches, a buck board, harnesses, horses, and establishing stations along a new route. George is not mentioned in the letter, but I think the fact that he saved it suggests he was working with the writer and the recipient.

Heber Chase McDonald was 21 years old at the time. He had been born in Provo, moved to St. George and then to Mesa with his father, Alexander Findley McDonald, a polygamist who had been elected the first mayor of Mesa in 1883. By the time of the letter, his father had fled to Colonia Juarez in Mexico with other polygamous families where he served as stake president. From the letterhead, it appears that Heber was affiliated with a general merchandise store in Florence, about 50 miles southwest of Mesa. Austin Carrington was likely not a Mormon. He had been born 24 years earlier in Virginia, the son of a naval officer. In 1880 he was clerk to a stock broker in San Francisco and was evidently a businessman in Phoenix at the time of the letter. He died two years later of drowning.

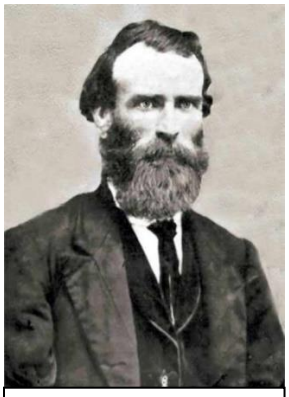
In Arizona 129 stage robberies were recorded between 1875 and 1903 involving about 200 robbers. Only 80 robbers were identified. It is not clear how many of these were brought to justice nor exactly how justice was delivered. Law enforcement was developing in several cities. For example Wyatt Earp had arrived in Tombstone, Arizona in December, 1879.

Two important family events developed that fall, one of which was to delay Sarah's trip to Mesa.

[21] The letter was dated June 22, 1886 from H. C. McDonald to Austin Carrington, Esq. and written on letterhead of Jos. Collingwood, Dealer in General Merchandise.

Little Lucy

The first was the affair of Little Lucy, the 18 year old daughter of Sarah's older sister Mary. In Bessie's and Sarah's letters of the previous months a tone of disapproval of Mary and Little Lucy is detectable without any clear explanation. Now the issue behind it gradually was coming to the surface. On September 18 Lucy Ann wrote Sarah that Little Lucy was "still in Ogden staying with Bishop Herrick." Little Lucy had previously lived in a small house in Salt Lake City, sharing it since about April with her mother, and possibly also with James while he was in the city. Apparently she had been moved to Ogden, where she was taken in by Bishop Herrick, because she had become pregnant and was starting to show at about five months. There she misbehaved and was shipped back to Salt Lake sometime before November 8th to live "in the little part of the Birkenshaws' house," when Rosie spotted her on the street, an unusual sight in those days for a woman in her ninth month of pregnancy. Little Lucy's baby Iolanthe was born January 29, 1886.


William Birkenshaw

William Birkenshaw was born in Heanor, Nottinghamshire, which is only three miles from Brinsley where Mary Cooper was born. He immigrated in 1861 and became a stonemason and contractor who probably worked with Tom Oakey. His wife Zilla Greensmith[22] was an orphan who had been raised by her grandmother in the gatehouse of the Nottingham Castle. She joined the Mormon Church as a young woman and came to Utah in the James Brown Company in 1862 with the Oakey family, so Birkenshaws were likely close friends with Oakeys. She was mentioned in Tom's journal on July 4, 1862 three weeks before the wagons left Omaha. Birkenshaws lived in the 9th Ward in Salt Lake.

The second family event, which probably delayed Sarah's trip to Mesa by about a month, was the marriage of Tom's daughter Lucy Ann. She announced it to Sarah in early September just as the concrete planning for Mesa was beginning. The wedding was to be in November.

In October Sarah wrote to George that she, her mother, and Alfred would be leaving soon. She was already homesick just thinking about it, but she would do the best she could to make George happy. They would stop briefly at Tom's on the way. Among Sarah's letters is a Certificate of Good Standing issued by Bishop Wilcox of Cottonwood Ward recommending her to any branch of the church, dated October 25, 1886.

By November 8, 1885 Sarah wrote to Hyrum and Lene in Dingledelle that they had arrived in Salt Lake after a visit to Jim and Bessie in Ogden, with so much more to do and so little

[22] See page 17.

time before moving on to Mesa. They made a carpet and papered the front room (that must have been at Tom's house). Mother had not been able to sell her butter in Ogden, so had brought it on to Salt Lake, where she got 25 cents for it. Alfred bought a cheap $5.00 suit and Mother some shoes, and they all felt lonely. Sarah was beyond lonely, homesick. Mother was still very tired.

Lucy Ann married Bill Evans on November 13, 1885.

By the 16th, Sarah, Alfred, and Mary C were on the train from Ogden to Maricopa County, Arizona. Sarah wrote a joyful journal account of the trip, which took them through Sacramento to the Bay area, south to Los Angeles, and from there to Phoenix. They arrived at 4 am and no one was there to meet them.

When they had been in Mesa for three weeks, Sarah and Alfred wrote to Hyrum and Lene and Jim, who was in Dingledelle again. Sarah was homesick. Mother wanted to come home. Darn! This was not going well.

Sarah wrote:

I am so homesick I am dreading to write. Mother is not very well. She says she wants to come home after Christmas, so don't be surprised, but Fred don't want to come. He is having quite a nice time visiting around. Almost everyone has plenty of wine and dried grapes and he gets his share. I don't think Mother will stay here long so you will have to sell something for them to come with, for I don't think Fred will get any work here everything seems so dull. Mother feels very sorry that Jim traded his wagon for that horse. She thinks he would have done better to have got some cows. Mother worries about you all the time.

I guess you want to know what we think of the place by this time. I like the trees first rate and there is more trees than anything else. There is not many vegetables, but they all tell us this is the worst time for garden stuff. Irish potatoes are 4 cents a pound, so that is pretty dear living for me. I often think of the nice ones you have. The tomatoes were beautiful when we first came but now the frost has took them. Fred has planted a few rows of peas, but everyone says it is too early. Hyrum, mother wants you to see about the stock as soon as you can. She thinks it does not agree with her here and she wants to get back. It will cost more to go back than it did to come. She says you must not sell any more pork. She wants it next summer. Take care of the things as well as you can.

Alfred added:

I like Mesa City first rate. We have such nice weather and the cottonwood trees are green, yet it has froze ice twice about a quarter of an inch thick. Mother wants you to send her word how stock is selling. I have not got work yet but think I will soon. I think Jim give a big price for the bluedick.

Sarah to Lene:

You don't have to write twice a week, but you should have written by now. Send me a long letter. I'm sorry Mrs. Sparks is not satisfied. I put the money she gave me by itself and I felt sure it was $2.00 but I might have been mistaken. Tell everyone hello for me.

Lene had already written to her on November 26, but the letter was still in transit. It announced that Lene was pregnant with their first child and Hyrum had been called on a mission.

On March 1, Mary Ann Neat, Cottonwood Ward's primary president, sensing the direction the winds were blowing, wrote to tell Sarah that they were keeping her job as counselor in the primary open until they were sure that she was not coming back.

On March 11, Jim was still living in Dingledelle. He wrote to announce to all the Mesa Oakeys that Lene had delivered an 8½ lb. baby boy, also that livestock prices were going up: $30 for a cow and $25 for a yearling. When he returned to Dingledelle from the post office in Paris on the 15th he was shocked to discover Alfred and Ma already there.

Sarah had been frantic with worry about them. She wrote on March 28:

18 days since you left and I haven't heard. I'm almost crazy to hear from you. I go to the office every day and no letter. If you are sick, just tell me for I would come to you. If you would only send for me I know I could come all right. I don't want you to send my things for I can't stand it to stay here like this. I'm not quite so sick as I was when you was here...there is big excitement about the mines. People are allmost wild they think it is so rich. Warren and Will Kimball have been in and taken them a claim...do write me as soon as you can and tell me how to come for I can't stand like this and I will never leave you again if I am ever permitted to see you again.

Their letter was in transit. Alfred, Jim, and Ma (Mary C) had written to Sarah from Dingledelle on March 24th. Alfred had a lot of questions about the property that he had acquired in Mesa. Jim wrote, "...Mother frets about you so you must write and tell her how you are doing." Mary C (through Jim) had a lot of suggestions for Sarah.

Dear Douther (Daughter)

You have not sent one word how you are if any better. I think you do not rearlize your condition (Sarah was pregnant.) *You need to be quite and esey in your mind. If you worry you will do your self an enjery—I am a frade you have done so now. Do not worry about me—the boys takes good care of me. Take good care of yourself and write to me as soon as you get this and tell all newes.*

I remain your loveing Mother

Mary Oakey

(by) *Jim*

The letter arrived letter quickly on March 30th. Sarah answered that she was glad Alfred and her mother got home safely. She had already decided to come home herself. (There was no word about how George felt about that.) And her mother was very much on her mind. Her orders were clear. At this point Sarah was four months pregnant.

Dear Mother Brothers and Sister and baby

...I hope Mother feels better by this time. Take as good care of her as you can and be sure and get her some August flower and see that she takes it all the time for I am afraid the cold will be so hard on her. Don't let her go out much if it is stormy...

...Dear Mother everyone are kind to me and try to make me feel better but I am all the time thinking of you and wondering how you are. If you want me to come I will for I am well enough to come now. Do try and have some of them write to me and tell me how to come. I don't want you to send my things for I don't think I can stay and if I thought I could not come to you I could not bear it at all. Try and take care of yourself all you can till I come. I am glad you got home safe and I hope and pray you are well and that I may see you again...

Why was Sarah coming home?

It was not the weather that she could not bear, not for herself or for her mother. There was no talk of the heat in Arizona, only worry about the cold in Bear Lake. Sarah had been at least as worried about her mother's health in Idaho as she had been in Mesa. In truth, Sarah always was worried about health. What she could not bear was to be separated from her mother. She was genuinely afraid she might never see her mother again.

On April 13th, from Salt Lake City Tom's 10 year old daughter Gertrude wrote to her Grandmother in Dingledelle. "Aunt Sarah told me I must write to you tonight. Pa is building the hall. We went to primary." Evidently Sarah was hoping to give Grandma some support from a distance—still in Mesa.

Gertie at age 16

On April 15th Hyrum wrote Mary C's reply. I will transcribe the whole letter since there are so few from Mary C and because it sheds so much light on this parent/child relationship.

Dingledelle Apr 15th 1886

Dear Bro. and Sister

We received your letter of Apr 5th yesterday and was very pleased to hear you are well. I am writing for Mother so I will write just what she says.

Do not check anything but your trunk. You can take all the rest in the Cars. Cord up your bedclothes and bed and pillows. Put your underclothes in a pillowcase. Get a basket or cracker box to put your provisions in. You can take all these or more in the cars. I hope you will Sell the carpet and have the money to come with. Ask Someone to carry your bedding

where you have to change cars. If you start from Maricopa Wells on Wednesday, you will get to Ogden Sunday Morning where you will have to change cars and buy your ticket for Montpelier. The train Mother and Fred came on Stopped 20 minutes there. When you get to McCammon stop in the Station house. There is a good one there now and a lady operator you can Stay with. Please write and tell us when you Start. Write a few days before you Start if you can. Give my love to all those dear Sisters. Tell them if I live I shall see them again. I have not been out but I sent Emilys flowers by Fred. Her Folks were very glad to hear from her for they had heard that She was dead. Tell the Sister Passeys that I have not been to Paris yet but I will go soon and see Old Lady Passey. Samuel A. Wilcox is going to Snake River. John and Phebe say they would as lief go to Arizona as anywhere else. If you want some money when you get to Ogden Send word. I cannot stand it for you to be sick in Arizona. This time you must come home. Your Mother Mary Oakey (These last four words are in her own handwriting.)

At this time Mary C was 74 years old. Sarah was 32.

Ten days later Sarah wrote to George from Sacramento on the way home in the train to Bear Lake. She had traveled as far as San Francisco with "Mr. Hopkins," Ella's husband. He had invited her to go with him to San Francisco (likely to see Ella), but she felt so poorly and was so tired, she declined. He was concerned enough about her to contribute $5 to use on the way. By May 2nd she was at home, reporting on her train trip. The hardest part was crossing the flooding Bear River in the last few miles. She was afraid to cross in the wagon with Jim, so he had to send for a boat to get her across.

Mother is lots better, she looks so very bad and everyone tels me how bad she has been...I feel quite tired yet it seems like I cant get rested. I am not sick, but I tremble so bad all over it seems like I can never get quit. I can feel the motion of the train yet just as plain as ever but I am thankful I am as well as I am and that I got here all right for I felt very bad on the road...don't feel bad about me for I think I shall be all right now that I have got here safe and I feel like I shall get well so I can come to you...if I could only get well like (Lene) *I could soon come to you...the Primary children heard I had come home so they all came to see me and held meeting here yesterday...I do not feel well enough to go out.*

George was glad to hear she made it safely home. They should be together again soon, or so he hoped. Ella had her surgery on May 6th. It lasted 2 ½ hours. "Hop" (Emmett Hopkins) wrote 30 hours later. He had got a good job there and would stay in San Francisco for some time. They took all the diseased parts from her. That sounds to me like a hysterectomy, an awful prospect in those days.

Later that week she wrote again.

I have been looking to our little darling's grave and wanting to go all day but it has been stormy so I dare not go far. I don't feel much better yet...Oh George don't never think that I wont come back for I have great faith that I shall get better so I can com to you for I know you want me and I want to be with you for you are all the world to me....Hyrum has taken Mother

to Paris. She was not fit to go but he was going, so she would go. She thinks it will do her good but I expect she will come back sick. Every one tels me how bad she has been and they never thought I would see her again but I think she will get better.

George answered her from Mesa that he was doing as well as could be expected, though his own mother was still very sick.

Theare was a compney of Solgers heare at fathers last nite. They are going after the Apaches Indians. They have all the troops out now. Theare is twenty five thousand reward for the Chief Horonomo...(Geronimo). *Well Sarah I hope that you are well and Hope that you will have a good time. I am lonsom but I don't feel bad to wards you in the least altho I wish you wer heare. I go to the House often but I dont stay thear long at a time...Sarah I want you to wright to me as often as you can for I do so much like to heare from you and I will rite to you jest as often as I can.*

Three days later he wrote again, upset. People were jumping to the conclusion that they had broken up. He said he knew that wasn't true and hoped that she did. Sarah assured him that she hadn't said that. In fact, she would be back as soon as she felt well enough, probably early fall. (That would be right after Mamie was to be born.) She wished George would attend church as often as possible. It would make him feel comforted.

...I often think, do we love and appreciate each other as much as we should. In holy places we have made sacred covenants to be true and faithful while life shall last and when our work here is ended we expect to be reunited and enjoy each other's love again...and become so united in our thoughts and feelings that we would truly be one and this we canon attain unless we are directed by that divine spirit and strive for it all the time and pray for each other...so we will be worthy to enjoy each other's love again...

By July 11 she was feeling the misery of her ninth month of pregnancy. She gave some mixed messages to George about being around for her labor.

It is so hot here I don't know how I would be able to bear it down there. Fred has fixed me a cot at the end of the house to lay on in the afternoon. Don't worry about me. I am real bad but I stand it the best I can. I hope I have not made you feel bad.

Friday, July 16. I just received your kind and welcome letter and am so pleased that you feel so kindly to me. When I read your letter I thought I must tell you to come but I know it would cost so much and be so much out of your way. I feel like I can't ask it of you. Oh George I could not tell you how much I would like to have you're here when I am sick ("sick" was the euphemism of that time for labor)*, but I will leave it all to you to do the best you can. But don't worry so much about me. Mother engaged Sister E Rich a while ago when she was at Paris. She said she would come and Fred thinks he can cross the bottoms by that time. Of course there is no one who can fill your place with me. I think I will get through all right but the worst I am afraid I will be sick so long after but let us hope for the best. I think I will get well to see you again.*

On July 18th George wrote a chatty letter about the holiday on the 4th, having not received the previous one from Sarah. They had bought 400 lbs. of ice to make 13 gallons of ice cream. Della gave the "Drum Major" the Grand Bounce and was about to get away with Dave Hibbard. Ellie was gaining slowly, took 6 steps alone.

Each week during the next month Sarah became more and more miserable. She worried there would be no one to wait on her delivery since there were so many women expecting around the same time. She was so sick, so hot, and so huge. George wrote that he wanted to send money for her, but "red tape" was delaying his pay.

On August 22 Sarah complained that Alfred had brought no letter from Paris from George--she had not heard from him since August 5. She was lonely. Alfred was going again tomorrow to settle up the land, Mother would have to go to make final proof on the claim. Sarah was afraid to be left alone now that labor was so near. The rest were gone to the hayfield and Sarah was now briefly alone. She had been afraid to go because they were planning to shoot chickens.

Then they were back and Mr. Wallace had brought George's letter dated August 10, which said that Sarah wasn't writing enough. She told him she sends them all the time--they must be going lost. "Don't worry, you must have faith that I'll be ok." She would have faith, too. She wanted him to attend meetings and not work on Sunday.

I could not ask you to come because I know it would cost you so much, not because I don't want you for no words could tell how much I would like to have you with me when I am sick (in labor).

On August 26, 1886 Mary Cooper Sirrine was born. Hyrum sent George a hand written birth announcement with a lock of the baby's hair.

Dingledelle Aug. 26th 1886

Dear Brother

I write you a few lines to inform you that you have a 10 lb. daughter here it was born at 3:35 oclock this morning. We send you a lock of her hair. Sarah is doing well. Sister Emeline Rich was here to wait on her and sister Mary Nate is nursing her.

Fred is waiting to take this letter to Post So excuse me for not writing more this time, will write the particulars later.

from your Bro H. Oakey

Hyrum followed up three days later at Sarah's request—she was not yet up to writing. Her breast was painful and the baby was not nursing very well, though she had so very much milk. She felt she would be better in a day or two.

On September 3rd Lene wrote about the baby. "Sarah's breasts are quite sore. That baby looks a little like your sister Flo. Sarah hasn't set up yet, but is improving as much as can be expected." I don't think Lene had ever met Flo—maybe she had a photo.

By October Sarah was again writing her own letters. The baby was so fretful with a cold Sarah could hardly write. She was growing nicely and looked more like George every day. She was not one bit like babe. George had not sent her a name—if he had, she had not received it, having gotten only two letters since the baby was born. Actually he had sent a suggestion:

Well Sarah I should like to see that Girl up theare. Cant you fetch Her heare without a name or how would Lilia May sute altho i havent got any Name Picked out but I think that very nice.

But their letters had crossed in the mail including the next one in which Sarah sent a wonderful upbeat description of their little girl. She was so pretty Sarah decided to have a photo taken.

October 7, 1886

Dear George

...I dont get much chance to write for babe is so fretful. She is good while I tend her but she will not lay down. I never saw such a babe of her age. She seems to know so much. She laughs and coos and we all think she is the sweetest little darling there is. There is a man over to Sparks that is taking pictures so I got it in my head to have her picture to send you. So Fred took me over and we had her taken. It looks like her only not so good. Her eyes are dark blue and larger than they look in the picture but the light was to strong in the tent. He wanted to take her again (she sat twice) *but I was so tired they had to let it go and take me home. I guess you will say why didn't I hold her but I could not if I had tried and then I look so bad I didn't want (my photo taken). It was all I could stand to go with her...only the man was going away and I wanted it so you could see her for I think she is so cute. I have named her Mary and we call her May only Fred he calls her May Am for short...*

Mamie at age one. Sadly, we do not have the photo mentioned in the letter

Her name evolved to Mamie. She is my grandmother.

George responded that Grandmother Crismon was coming to Mesa for the winter from Salt Lake. Sarah could come down with her around the first of next month—she would have good company. Maybe Grandmother could even wait a week or ten days if Sarah needed more time. George could go to Tempe within a day or two and send the money by postal

order. If Sarah could stand the trip he thought the weather there would do her a lot of good.

By November 7th Sarah had received the money order, but did not mention the invitation, though she hinted that Alfred might want to go south that winter. The babe was getting over a cold but Sarah feared another might be coming. She did not seem nearly as strong as little George had been.

You say you think she is a big girl but she is not very large of her age but she is the smartest babe around here. There was 8 babies born in this place within 6 weeks and everyone says she is the smallest one but I am sure she is the sweetest. Oh she is such a comfort to me and I can't wait for you to see her. Every time I look at her or kiss her I think if you could only see her..."

On Thanksgiving Day Sarah pointed out it had been just a year since she had arrived in Mesa and the baby was already three months old. Obviously it had not taken them long to conceive once they finally got back together.

I have shortened her (hair) *today. I wish I could tell you how she looked. She is so little and fat she is like a little round ball. Everyone calls her a little doll. Fred says she is the cutest babe he ever saw. He says she weigh 10 pounds heavier than she looks.*

Because of work considerations, Alfred had decided that he could not come to Mesa after all and Sarah didn't think Mother would come. Sarah was trying to get stronger but could not stand very much yet. Prospects for another trip south seemed dim. Love from Sarah and little May.

George wrote in December that he had been on the road a lot with his teams from Phoenix to Prescott, probably freighting or helping to set up the new stagecoach line. He planned more of the same through the winter.

Once again there is a gap in the letter collection. The next letter is dated March 15, 1887. It was from George's sister Della in Mesa, addressed to George in Dingledelle.

He had returned to Sarah.

Della and her new husband, David Hibbert had been married the previous day. She was sorry that George had missed the wedding. She and David were leaving on their honeymoon to San Francisco for 2-3 days followed by a trip to Utah. They were writing George in case he wanted to meet them in Salt Lake and return home together to Mesa. "Ma wants you to write a long letter and tell her what you intend. She's been expecting a letter ever since you left."

So George had returned to Sarah sometime between December and March 15. The tables were now turned. Once again George's family was pulling him back to Mesa. A month later George's brother Warren LeRoy wrote with news. They were doing well in mining, liquor, beer, and cigars. Grandfather Crismon and others were heading up to Salt Lake for the

summer. Warren LeRoy was sorry that George had decided to sell out. Let him know if he wanted to hold onto the mine. If George wanted, Warren LeRoy would sell all his things.

That year the Fielding Academy opened in Paris. The Maricopa and Phoenix railroad was joined to the Southern Pacific. On March 3 the Edmund Tucker Act was passed, kicking polygamy persecution into high gear.

And the separation was over. George and Sarah were back together for good.

Chapter 7

Drivers of Separation

For three and a half years two married people who lived 800 miles apart, and who loved and continually expressed commitment to each other, tried in vain to come together even though that might seem a simple task to an observer. They wrote to each other frequently, declaring their love, loyalty, loneliness, and longing to be together. Children died, children were born. Houses and businesses were built and abandoned. Family illness, weddings, adventures were experienced separately. They had agreed to make their home in Mesa and then Sarah had held back. Then the completion of the railroad helped them to come together briefly, only to make it easy to split again. How could this be? What forces for separation could outweigh the many forces bringing them together? And how did they finally resolve the problem?

The conversations in their letters point to the most immediate of these. Sarah was sick. She was almost always sick. Not one for detailed descriptions of symptoms, she was just sick. And she was tired, sometimes too tired to leave the house. She was sad. She got homesick just thinking about moving. She worried. She worried about her health, George's health, her mother's health, her children's health, everyone's health. She was afraid. She did not want to leave her baby's grave. She did not like to take chances and she feared travelling alone. She feared illness and death. She feared the heat of Arizona and the cold of Bear Lake Valley. Her motto was to nurture and be nurtured. She was a settler, not an explorer.

I am not blaming her. That is how she felt. It suggests diagnoses such as depression, anxiety, and chronic fatigue syndrome. And she had good reason to fear illness and death. Both were all around her—and it was little different in Arizona. She took care of people.

George tried to address separation in his practical way. He would build her a house. She would get well in Arizona's climate. He would protect her. She could travel with her mother and brother. He would come and bring her to Mesa himself. At length and in combination those brought her to him briefly, but did not hold her. His motto was to move the herd and chase down the strays. He was a drover.

I do not blame him. After all, he had been called by God on a mission to settle Mesa. It made sense financially. His whole family had moved there.

Both families played a huge role in the couple's separation. George's family had coaxed him continually to come to Mesa, coaxed Sarah to join him, and then after he finally returned to Bear Lake they continued to coax George until his life was over. Sarah's family, particularly her mother Mary C, did more than coaxing. Mary C had been scarred by her pioneer experience, and then again by polygamy. She hated the heat of Arizona, but made Sarah fear she would die of the cold in Idaho without her. She was dependent upon Sarah in the extreme and never let up the pressure on Sarah to take care of her.

It was George and Sarah's love for each other that finally brought them back together. They simply could stand separation no longer.

But in my view the pull of family came from a much deeper place than the reasons given. This is the story of two radically different types of people from two very different countries, who were brought together and then separated by forces larger than themselves.

George's family, the Sirrines and Crismons, had immigrated to America centuries earlier. They were quintessential Americans. To their core they embraced manifest destiny, western expansion, pioneering, risk taking, and no-holds-barred capitalism. Although her father, James, had risen to the middle class, Sarah's Oakeys and Coopers were British commoners, whose ancestors had inhabited towns fewer than 100 miles apart for hundreds of years, having been driven from neighboring villages to Nottingham by the industrial revolution to labor in lace factories. They valued stability and security.

The trajectories of both families were altered when they joined the Mormon Church, which eventually brought them together through three Mormon Apostles: George Q. Cannon, Charles C. Rich, and Amasa Lyman. When Charles C. Rich called both families to colonize Paris, Idaho, they merged through the marriage of George and Sarah. Then, when Brigham Young called them to move on and colonize Mesa, the Yankee family responded. They had new mountains to climb. When Brigham Young called to support plural marriage, James Oakey responded. But the British Oakeys, especially Mary C and her children, were finished with pioneering and wanted to settle in. Like Romeo and Juliet, their married children were tragically caught in the middle.

I notice in the history of Mormonism a sort of vibration between the poles of expansion and contraction, outreach and consolidation, risk taking and security. Like fractals, these poles are observable at many levels—nations, churches, businesses, families, and individuals, oscillating over time on a continuum according to outside pressures or individual natures. In the case of Mormonism this provides an interesting irony, since these oscillations can disrupt families. Consider the missionaries sent in the interest of expansion, who were removed from their families, in those days often for years and for many missions, leaving wives and children to fend for themselves. Then in the gathering phase, the families they converted were stressed, first when individuals left families to join the church, and again when they left their communities for Zion. These stresses are especially evident in the Oakey history. When the ebb and flow of national or church policy aligns with a family's orientation it is a powerful accelerator. When they are out of sync, the results can be destructive.

In the following sections I will try to show the influence of the three apostles, how the two families developed as they did, how they dealt with the forces around them, and then tell the conclusion of the story of George and Sarah and their families.

Part II: Millstones and Missionaries

Chapter 8

The Three Apostles

It was lesser-known missionaries in England and the eastern United States who converted the families of Sarah and George to Mormonism, but three early apostles of the church, Amasa Lyman, Charles C. Rich, and George Q. Cannon, were brought together by Brigham Young between 1849 and 1862 to work together on two continents, and as a part of that process eventually brought the two families to Utah. Then Charles C. Rich brought them together in Idaho in 1863-64. And then without any help from his three emissaries, Brigham Young acted personally to effect the two great separations of this book: calling James Oakey into polygamy in 1873 and the Sirrines to colonize Arizona in 1877.

In this chapter I will try to briefly re-acquaint you with the early lives of the three apostles. In the chapters that follow I will blend the story of their thirteen years serving together with the story of my own family.

Functionally an orphan, Amasa Lyman joined the church at age 19 in New Hampshire. Evidently his father was unstable. The family lived on an old homestead furnished to his mother, Martha Mason, by her father, where Amasa was born in 1813. His father disappeared to seek his fortune when Amasa was two and was never heard from again. When his mother remarried six years later, he was sent to his grandfather's house to live until the old man died and the boy was taken in by his mother's brother. After the missionaries Orson Pratt and Lyman Johnson found Lyman and baptized him on April 27, 1832 his uncle's family immediately disowned him, so he set out to meet Joseph Smith, hoping to become a missionary himself. According to a premature autobiography published in the Millennial Star in 1844, he left with 16 pounds of half-worn clothing and $11.70, which after his feet got sore from walking he splurged on canal boat and stage fare until it ran out, finishing his trip to Palmyra on foot to meet The Prophet.

Amasa made friends easily and always managed to find his way by improvising. When he found out that Joseph Smith and the Mormons had already left Palmyra he got work there with a gentile named Thomas Lackey, who had bought the farm that Martin Harris had sold to fund the publishing of the Book of Mormon. He earned $4.50 in two weeks, which funded the next leg of his trip to Hiram, Ohio where he knocked on the prophet's door, only to discover that Joseph had gone to investigate Missouri as a place for Zion shortly after his infamous tar and feathering by the mob. The owner of the house turned out to be John Johnson, the father of the very missionary who had baptized him. Johnson, undoubtedly delighted to unexpectedly receive his son's recruit, gave young Amasa another temporary home and job working at $10 per month to tide him over for Joseph's return on July 1.

Amasa was impressed immediately when he finally met the man of God.

Of the impressions produced I will here say, although there was nothing strange or different from other men in his personal appearance, yet, when he grasped my hand in that cordial way known to those who have met him in the honest simplicity of truth, I felt as one of old in the presence of the Lord, my strength seemed to be gone, so that it required an effort on my part to stand on my feet; but in all this there was no fear, but the serenity and peace of heaven pervaded my soul, and the still small voice of the spirit whispered its living testimony in the depths of my soul, where it has ever remained, that he was the Man of God.

Amasa Lyman

Just as Amasa hoped, the Prophet called him on a mission, although he by then had heard only five sermons counting one by Joseph Smith. I suspect this rather inadequate doctrinal preparation encouraged Amasa, who seemed adept at thinking for himself and improvising, to cultivate his own personal version of the gospel, which as will be shown, got him into trouble later. He was pretty much always on a mission thereafter until retiring finally in 1862. Before moving west he had served missions in Vermont, New Hampshire, New York, Wisconsin, Illinois, and Tennessee.

In spite of that, he managed to marry eight wives and produce 38 children. Three of his wives were Partridge sisters, including Eliza Maria, who had been married to Joseph Smith. He had married four of them as teenagers.

In between missions, additional notable accomplishments included working in disguise as a spy against the Missouri mob, fighting alongside Charles C. Rich and others at Crooked River, and being arrested with the prophet, but Lyman was released before the others were sent to Liberty Jail. He probably was acquainted with Charles Crismon during that time. In Nauvoo he was appointed a regent of the University of Nauvoo and a member of the Council of 50. When Orson Pratt was excommunicated in 1842, Amasa was made an apostle, but then was excluded from the quorum when Orson repented and returned. Six weeks later he was made a counselor to Joseph Smith alongside Sidney Rigdon in the First Presidency.

Lyman returned quickly from a mission when he heard of the martyrdom of Joseph Smith. He spurned Sidney Rigdon's bid to become the church leader, siding with Brigham Young, who reinstated Amasa as an apostle August 12, 1844.

When the exodus to Utah was organized, Amasa was called with two others to help raise funds for the "Mississippi Saints," who took a southern route to Salt Lake Valley and eventually became the core of the San Bernardino settlement. Charles Crismon was also called for that purpose. I have not been able to determine how or whether their efforts were coordinated.

Amasa Lyman was in the vanguard party of pioneers traveling with Brigham Young. Others in that party included William Clayton, who would become Amasa's son-in-law and two men who would be associated with Lyman's later mission to California: Orrin Porter

Rockwell and Francis Martin Pomeroy, who later helped colonize both Bear Lake and Mesa. Lyman returned to Winter Quarters to co-lead a wagon train in 1848 with Willard Richards, bringing seven of his wives and five children aged 2-11 to Zion. He settled his wives in Salt Lake City, Farmington, Fillmore, Beaver, and Parowan.

Charles Coulson Rich was born in Kentucky in 1809, in the same year and the same state as Abraham Lincoln. Both moved when young to Indiana and lived as adults in Illinois. Both were six feet four inches tall, although Rich was large in all three dimensions, weighing around 240 lbs.

It is not clear to me why the Rich family moved from Kentucky to Switzerland County, Indiana—it was just a short hop across the Ohio River. Many Kentuckians had been evicted after settling on lands with insecure titles. Others were moving to an anti-slavery state. This seems unlikely for the Riches since Charles is said to have possessed slaves even in Utah. There were tracts of free land in Indiana. And some people just couldn't help but move west in those days. Charles probably had no memory of Kentucky, having moved as a very young child. His father made a living building blockhouses as a defense against Indians—they didn't name the state Indiana for nothing—and served as a constable. In 1839 the family moved 100 miles west again beyond the Wabash to Tazewell County, Illinois.

When Charles was 21, Lyman Wight came through town and left a Book of Mormon in his hands. A year later in 1832 he, his sister Minerva, and his parents became Mormons, baptized by George M. Hinkle, another missionary. Charles spent a lot of time and effort being a Mormon, making several visits to Kirtland and even one to Missouri as a participant in Joseph Smith's Zions Camp march. He was a leader of his own little branch in Tazewell. At age 29 he had shown no interest in marriage, only in the gospel. To move him along, he was lined up with a woman he had never seen or heard of down in Belleville, Illinois near St. Louis by a missionary who knew them both, none other than George M. Hinkle, who had baptized him five years earlier. Her name was Sarah Pea. It took Charles a while to get around to it, but he had decided to move to Zion, so sent her a now famous letter of proposal.[23]

March 23, 1837

Miss Sarah Pea, It is with pleasure that I at this time pen a few lines to you, although a perfect stranger to you. However, I trust that this few lines may be received by you and may be the beginning of a happy acquaintance with you. I will now let you know the reason of my boldness in writing to you. It is because Elder G. M. Hinkle and others have highly recommended you as a Saint of the Last Days as being worthy of my attention or any others. As I expect it will be the case that I shall tarry in Zion for some time, I think I should be happy

[23] Leonard J. Arrington, *Charles C. Rich,* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1974) p. 56.

to get a good companion. Such a one as I could take comfort with through life and such a one as could take comfort with me. As you have been recommended to me as such, I should be very happy to see you and converse with you on the subject. I did expect to have taken a journey last winter with Elder H. Green and visited the church in that post, but I found it not possible to leave a multitude of other calls and temporal business. As I was making arrangements to go to Zion this spring, I have understood by Br. Hinkle that you was a going up to Zion this spring or summer. I should be happy to see you there and if these lines is received with the same feeling that I write them, I trust that you may be single and unengaged. When this comes to pass after you read and meditate upon it, I should be glad you would write me an answer to it. If so, you can direct your letter to Liberty, Clay County, Missouri. If you write, you will please to write as soon as convenient. So not more at present, but I remain yours with the best of respects.

To Miss Sarah Pea from Charles C. Rich

This was her reply, borrowed from the Book of Ruth. It was offered without further comment or explanation, and I think it was very romantic.

Whither thou goest, I will go; and where thou lodgest, I will lodge; thy people shall by my people, and they God my God;

Where thou diest, will I die, and there will I be buried; the Lord do so to me, and more also, if ought but death part thee and me.

They did not meet until six months later and were married February 11, 1838. They moved to Far West and built a house, the only one that still stands today in that settlement. Every Mormon knows that Zion did not live up to its promise. Charles was the leader of the Mormons who fought on Crooked River. Three Mormons and one Missourian were killed, the latter by a bullet fired by Br. Rich. He was fired upon in Far West, riding back with a white flag after a parley with the enemy, but was not hit. When Joseph Smith was jailed at Liberty, Hyrum and Amasa Lyman instructed Charles and the other participants at Crooked River to flee to Iowa for safety. The mob then threatened Sarah and the seven families she was sheltering at the Rich farm until her father John Pea could get down from Illinois to rescue her and bring her back to Quincy, pregnant with her first child, Sarah Jane.

Charles C. Rich

Much could be told about their four years in Nauvoo. Briefly, Charles was an important figure there. He served on the Nauvoo Stake High Council, the City Council, the Nauvoo Legion, and the Council of 50. When Major Wilson Law was suspended, Rich effectively headed the legion as Brigadier General, technically the second in command to Brigham Young, the ceremonial head. When the Council of 50 was sent out to campaign for Joseph Smith's bid for the presidency he spent months on a speaking tour of Michigan until he was belatedly informed of the martyrdom and returned in a hurry, a month too late to help.

In Nauvoo they had three more children, Joseph, who plays an important role later in this book, Artemisia, who died in infancy, and Charles Coulson Junior. And Charles married four more wives in an impressive manner. The first three were married exactly three days apart, conveniently blending efficiency and a brief honeymoon for each wife. They were Eliza Graves, age 35, Mary Ann Phelps, 15, and Sarah Jane Peck, 20. One year later he married Emeline W. Grover, who was three months shy of 15. On the way to Salt Lake City he added a sixth wife, Harriett Sargent, 32. These women together produced fifty-one children.

On the trek west from Nauvoo, Charles C. Rich was named stake president at Mount Pisgah, an important stopping point on the Mormon Trail in 1846. In Council Bluffs he was named a captain of 100 (actually 126) of which 15 were his own family, on an especially Indian-plagued wagon train which arrived October 2, 1847 in the Salt Lake Valley, where he was named counselor to the stake president, John Smith, and then took over as stake president in 1848. On February 12, 1849 Charles C. Rich became a member of the Council of the Twelve Apostles.

George Q. Cannon was a half generation younger than Rich and Lyman, both of whom were already teenagers when he was born in 1827 in Liverpool. The Rich and Lyman families had been in America for many generations; the Cannons were pure British. George's namesake[24] grandfather was a sea captain who was killed on the Atlantic Ocean while resisting a mutiny. His father, also named George, was a joiner and furniture maker, who made a good living. George's birth as a first child must have been a great relief as well as a celebration, for his parents had entered a prenuptial agreement that they would divorce if Ann could not produce children. To make things even scarier, his father had dreamed that his wife would die in pregnancy. Unfortunately this dream proved to be true, but not until she had endured several more deliveries.

George Q. was the nephew of John Taylor through his wife Lenora Cannon, a younger sister to his father. The Taylors had been baptized in Toronto, Canada by Parley P. Pratt along with Joseph Fielding and his sisters Mary and Mercy. They moved to Far West, Missouri where John was made an apostle in 1838 before fleeing to Nauvoo. From there he was called in the second group of missionaries to England in 1839 where he baptized the entire family of Lenora's brother including 13 year old George Q. Two years later the family left Liverpool for New Orleans with six kids in tow. During the trip, his pregnant mother Ann Quayle died, apparently from sea sickness, fulfilling his father's dream and her own premonition before the trip. This must have been terrible for young George. It is hard enough to be uprooted from home as a teenager.

[24]George's middle name of Quayle, his mother's maiden name, was taken when he was in his 20's working in the California goldfields to distinguish him from another miner—a good thing, which is useful to me as well.

By the time the family reached New Orleans the Mississippi was too low to permit passage to Nauvoo, so the family settled into St. Louis for the winter, where his father found work and the children attended school, leaving early to catch the first riverboat to Nauvoo in April, 1843. There after greeting the Prophet Joseph, the family went straight to Uncle John Taylor's comfortable house. The family moved to their own quarters soon, but left 16 year old George Q. and his 15 year old sister Alice with the Taylors. Shortly thereafter their father re-married, and then died of sunstroke while working in St. Louis. Alice promptly married Charles Lambert, took in all of her younger siblings, and went on to bear 14 children of her own. The second of these was George Cannon Lambert, who eventually married Rosie Matthews, cousin of Sarah Oakey.

George Q. Cannon

The oldest cousin in the Taylor household was only ten at the time, so the now orphaned young George Q. had to grow up quickly to stand in for Uncle John at home and at work. Along with church duties as an apostle and a missionary John Taylor was the editor of the *Times and Seasons* and the *Wasp* and the *Nauvoo Neighbor*. Because of his role with the newspapers, he was jailed with Joseph Smith and Hyrum at Carthage and was seriously injured when they were murdered. As he recovered, George Q. kept the business going, which prepared him for an illustrious career as a journalist, editor, and publisher himself. George Q.'s father was still alive at the time of the martyrdom and had the distinction of building the coffins and producing the death masks of Joseph and Hyrum Smith.

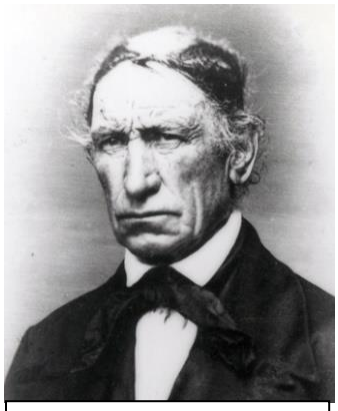
George Q. stayed with the Taylor family in Winter Quarters in 1846 during another of John Taylor's missions to England and moved with the whole family, driving a wagon to Salt Lake City in October of 1847. His illustrious church career was entirely ahead of him.

Chapter 9

The Yankee Millwright

George Warren Sirrine

For the several short biographies of my bigger-than-life second great grandfather I refer you to his memories section of the LDS family tree. If you want a rollicking, yarn-spinning hero-worshipping read, begin with the one written by his second son Warren LeRoy Sirrine with stunning details of his heritage, youth, and Wild West style exploits that make legends, but to which the author could not possibly have had first-hand knowledge. If Warren LeRoy learned these stories at his father's knee, which seems quite likely, then GWS himself was a yarn spinner, and that would not surprise me. There are far fewer hard genealogical facts than the Sirrine family tree would suggest, but I think there are enough to disprove Warren LeRoy's belief in the "Three Brothers" myth[25], which is surprisingly common to many family genealogies. The Sirrine version involves three brothers who came with General Lafayette from France to help George Washington win the Revolutionary war, one of them so anxious to help that he jumped overboard to gain the American shore all the more quickly and drowned in the process. As he was lost, so was his name, but his brothers James and William helped to win the war and then settled in New York to begin the Sirrine clan. The trouble is, George Warren Sirrine's actual grandfather was very likely named Isaac Sirrine Sr. (also written Sovrine). He was a Revolutionary War veteran, but his name was not James or William. I think it is unlikely that he was born in France or sailed with the French general, but he well may have settled in Dutchess County on a government land grant, given in lieu of military pay. Also, since there are so many unaccounted-for Sirrines in the area, it seems probable that he had a brother who settled there as well.



Isaac Sirrine

What we know for sure is that George's father was named Isaac, born and buried in Cold Spring near Phillipstown, Duchess County, New York. This is on the east bank of the Hudson River just across from West Point and about 60 miles upriver from The Big Apple. Isaac Sirrine Jr. declared himself to the census taker to be a carpenter, but he was also a builder of mills. When George Warren was about five the family moved 200 miles northeast to Hector Township, Tompkins County in the Finger Lake region of New York. According to his brother John's biography:

[25] Genealogy Myth: The Three Brothers, www.news.legacyfamilytree.com, March 23, 2006

In January, 1823, Mr. and Mrs. Isaac Sirrine (Sarah Garrison), with their nine children and all of their worldly possessions, left home in a sleigh drawn by a single pair of horses, crossed the Hudson River at Newburgh and started on their long journey westward, their destination being "Shin Hollow", now Trumansburg.[26]

At that time he had five older brothers, ages 13-4 named Abraham, John, Mephibosheth, Joel, and Seth and a two year old sister, Hanna Frances. Of the eventual dozen Sirrine children George was the only one not to receive an Old Testament name. They were living at Hector when the Erie Canal opened, which ushered in a time of brisk population growth. It was also the time between Joseph Smith's first vision and Angel Moroni visits in Palmyra 55 miles to the west and the organization of the Mormon Church in Fayetteville, about 80 in the other direction. Although there is no direct evidence that the family encountered Mormonism during that time, they were probably at least aware of it. Three more children were born in Hector: a second sister who died unnamed in infancy and two more brothers—Benjamin and Samuel. While their mother Sarah was pregnant with Samuel, the house burned down on Christmas Eve of 1829, killing two of the boys--3 year old Benjamin and Joel, who was 16. After Samuel's birth that spring Isaac moved the family back to Duchess County, leaving their two oldest boys, Abraham and John. Abraham married there and stayed in Tompkins County for the rest of his life. John soon moved to Michigan, then back to Putnam, where he married Nancy Smith. They would later voyage to California with George and finally re-settle in Tomkins County. Home again in Cold Spring, Sarah had three more boys: one named Isaac and two named after the fire victims, Benjamin and Joel.

The third big brother, Mephibosheth, has a very interesting story, which ended up impacting the rest of George Warren's life. He became a Mormon.

Mephibosheth Sirrine

Mephibosheth was 19 years old in 1830. Sometime between 1830 and 1833 he moved to New York City. If he joined the Mormons in Hector, it may have been his first mission that took him to New York. Otherwise he must have met the missionaries there. Genealogist and Sirrine family descendant Larry E. Hibbert has pieced together much of "Bosha's" interesting, short life. In the autobiography of an early Mormon missionary named Wandle Mace the following incident is recorded, which happened in 1838.

... [I] *began to feel the necessity of a change. Brother M. Sirrine proposed that I go on a visit with him to the home of his parents in the Catskill Mountains and I accepted his invitation and started upon a short mission. We took passage on a steamer as far as a small town opposite the town of Fishkill, which is on the west side* (actually both towns are is on the east side, at least currently) *of the Hudson River. We proceeded at once to the house of Mr. Sirrine, a short*

[26] Miss Laura Rudy, *The Trumansburg Free Press and Sentinel* (January 15, 1936).

distance from Mattawan, up in the mountains. Arriving there in the middle of the afternoon, Brother M. Sirrine introduced me to his parents who received me very cordially. His mother, Mrs. Sirrine, was a very peculiar woman. When any of her family were absent, and without any communication from them, she was always apprised of their return by some means unknown to them. She would make preparations to receive them just as any mother would do when hearing directly from them. So she had prepared for our coming.

When the welcomes and greetings were over, Mrs. Sirrine took her son aside and inquired of him if his friend was a preacher. He answered, "Yes, he is from the city of New York, here on a short mission."...We stayed with them that night and preached to them the gospel. They accepted the principles we taught as the truth of the Bible...

Apparently Mephibosheth was already a Mormon by then since he was called "Brother," possibly already a missionary. Despite the cordial reception, the family apparently did not join the church. George would have been about 19 by then. Possibly he was at home at that time and heard the missionaries.

According to Warren LeRoy's biography, Bosha was raised from his sick bed in New York City by the Prophet Joseph Smith himself, who promptly called him on a mission. This is possible. The only time I could find that Joseph Smith was ever in New York City was on a stage coach trip that he took between early October and November 6, 1832.[27] During this time the prophet wrote two interesting letters to Emma from the city, although there is no mention of Mephibosheth.

On August 5, 1838 Elder M. Sirrine left New York for Lenawee County, Michigan where he "raised up" a branch of eleven members. There is an undocumented date given in Family Search for his marriage to Mariah Wheeler in his home town of Cold Springs on October 27, 1939. She had been born there. This date seems unlikely to me, since he was on his mission to Michigan during that time. If it is correct, Mephibosheth must have been previously married to a wife who has been lost to history because in the 1840 U.S. census, he had three children—two boys and a girl between the ages of one and five. The girl would be Helen, who was born in Brooklyn, New York in 1835. Theodore, who was born in 1839 was one of the boys. There must have been another one born around 1837 in Michigan who was counted in the census, but died afterwards. The youngest boy, Parley Pratt Sirrine was born in 1844 and could have been Mariah's son. Mephibosheth proselyted in Michigan about six years, presiding over multiple conferences and organizing many branches. Mariah died in 1844. Bosha was called to another mission in the Eastern States January 1845, where he married Rachel T. Gillette. George wanted Bosha to sail with him that winter to San Francisco on the ship *Brooklyn*, but Mephibosheth went to Nauvoo instead where in April conference 1846 he was called on yet another mission to Great Britain, where he served in Manchester. He had been there only about a year when the

[27]Richard Lyman Bushman, *Joseph Smith, Rough Stone Rolling*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), 188-189.

Saints in Manchester raised the funds to allow him go home to his family. From the Manchester Branch Historical Record:

At a council meeting of the Manchester Branch held May 14, 1847 it was decided to keep fast on Sunday, the 13th of June, the proceeds to be appropriated to assist Elder Mephibosheth N. Sirrine in going back to his wife and family, and to take them through the wilderness to the Camp.

He returned to his family that fall in America, but spent the winter as a missionary traveling the Eastern United States. Finally in the spring of 1848 he and his wife headed for Winter Quarters, but during the trip he died of consumption on the Ohio River, leaving her with the three step children.[28] He is said to have been the first Mormon missionary to die while serving.

In the meantime George Warren Sirrine had grown up. He finished his apprenticeship as a machinist and millwright. He helped his father two build two mills by the time he was 16 and operated one of them himself. At age 17 he helped to maintain and repair steamships which were running on the Hudson from New York to the Erie Canal at Albany. He also worked on steam engines for the railroad, and according to his granddaughter Vera Sirrine had a job as engineer on a steam engine running from West Point to Albany. For many entertaining stories of his youth I refer you to the biographies written by Warren LeRoy's and Vera. But I'm going to try to stay with the verifiable facts as much as I can (at least for now.)

According to Warren LeRoy, when George heard the missionaries and joined the Mormon Church, his mother and only sister cast him out of the house, so he decided to sign up with the *Brooklyn*, a ship in New York intended to take Saints to Zion via California. I doubt that it happened that way. He was 27 years old when the *Brooklyn* sailed, and very likely had been living in New York City for years. He had managed a warehouse there. He is said to have had experience working in law enforcement and was working at the docks, perhaps as a security agent, just before the ship sailed.

His sister Hanna Frances was married in 1841 and likely had a home of her own, so if she was part of any casting out, it would have been before that. Even then, George was 23. If he was still living at home it was probably time to move out regardless of the church. Also, this story does not square with Elder Mace's account, which indicated a positive response from George's mother Sarah to the gospel message.

I don't think anyone knows exactly how or when GWS joined the church. It makes sense to me that his older brother Bosha had influenced him, and that would likely have been before

[28] For Larry Hibbert's entire story including a tear-jerking letter from Rachel, see it attached to Mephibosheth's page in Family Tree, www.familysearch.org.

his mission to Michigan in 1838 when George was nearly 20. Maybe that is when he was kicked out of the house, who knows?

It is clear that he was often in New York City during his young adult years, and was probably living there on November 8, 1845 when Orson Pratt gave an oration to a large gathering at American Hall, which was covered in the newspapers, exhorting the eastern Latter-day Saints to "flee Babylon, by land or sea." In an extra edition of the *New York Messenger* on December 13, 1845, George Warren Sirrine's name was on the list of people who had been "...selected, who have means to pay their expenses by water" to San Francisco. Shortly afterward newspaperman Samuel Brannan, under the orders of Brigham Young, chartered for $1,200 dollars a month a weather worn merchantman freighter named the *Brooklyn*, which had been re-fitted with staterooms, meeting rooms and inner decks so low that taller passengers had to duck their heads to walk, to carry 238 passengers, their belongings and the supplies required to begin a new life, along with a printing press owned by Brannan plus 800 lbs. of paying freight ordered for the Sandwich Islands around the horn of South America to Northern California. Never mind that the "modest sized" 125 foot long ship was only legally allowed to take on 175 people (2 per 5 tons of ship weight was the rule)--100 of them were children. The fare was $50 per adult, half for children ages 5-14. The babies went free. $25 more was charged for provisions, which seems like a good deal considering that the voyage lasted four days short of six months. Six months, with only two land breaks—five days on Robinson Crusoe's island, Juan Fernandez, occupied by eight lonely Chileans, and ten days in the Sandwich Islands (Oahu.)

There was much excitement to leave. Saints began gathering in mid-January 1846, lodging in New York City boardinghouses. They came from all the surrounding states. Concerned about possible opposition, Brannan cautioned the Saints to address each other when in the city as Mr. and Mrs. rather than Brother and Sister to reduce suspicion. Captain Abel W. Richardson was a staunch Baptist, who daily read the Bible and his 18 crewmen were said to have "above average morals." Preparing for a possibly hostile reception from the foreign country of Mexico, the men were armed with muskets and with 50 Allen revolvers, the newest thing. George took his machinist tools in a large toolbox. The ship was docked on the East River.

As an example of how people packed, the Austin Family including 21 year old Emeline Lane traveled from Connecticut with two chests, two boxes, four bags, five bales, two plows, one gun, one keg (powder), one jug, one bundle, two scythes, paying $6.28 extra for freight. Emeline would later marry George Sirrine in California.

George's 32 year old brother John Sirrine was a carpenter. He joined the group with his wife Nancy and their one year old son George. They were not Mormons; he was going for his health. He had been told that a sea voyage was the only way he could prolong his life. This was an accepted treatment of the time for consumption (tuberculosis). It must have worked—he lived to the age of 91.

There are many accounts of the voyage, and they differ considerably. For a trip of its great length, just arriving at the destination seems a success. Some accounts report unusually calm seas throughout and an uncharacteristically smooth rounding of the Horn. A letter from the *Brooklyn* was printed August 1846 in the New York Journal of Commerce: "*We had no freezing weather and at no time was the thermometer in our cabin below 50°--on deck it fell for a few hours as low as 36°...passing near an iceberg."* This was probably written by Sam Brannan and likely understated the conditions for the purpose of promoting the next two ships he was planning to charter.

Emeline Lane wrote a cheerful letter which she posted to her parents from Hawaii:

...We have had a very good voyage so far. We havent had but one severe gale on our long voyage. We have come twenty thousand miles and are almost to our destined home I truste. We crossed the equator in 28 days after we started from Newyorke. We had a very good passage around Cape Horn. The days were very shorte, there we could hardly get a glimps at the sun for several days but we got around firste rate.

A more complete account[29] is given by Lorin K. Hansen. All accounts agree it was smooth sailing the first four days. Then a gale hit, rendering everyone seasick and injuring two cows in the hold, who had to be euthanized and dumped overboard. Following the storm Sarah Burr gave birth to a boy whom she named John Atlantic Burr. If that sounds familiar it is because that became the name of the first ferryboat at Bullfrog on Lake Powell. Then Sarah lost her one year old Charles three weeks later. When they crossed the equator they had two or three days of doldrums, which in the sweltering heat seemed even worse than the storm since it added the same number of extra days to a very long trip. There was a total of ten, eleven, or twelve deaths before reaching California, depending on the account you read, including Laura Goodwin, who slipped in a gangway in a Pacific gale, then died of complications of premature labor, leaving a grieving husband to console her six children.

The ship managed to avoid the severe adverse winds of Cape Horn by deviating far toward Antarctica, which pleased the captain and crew but led to stories of powerful prayers and heroism in the written accounts of passengers recruited to chip ice from the decks and rigging. Their hopes for their first rest on land after three months at sea were devastated when strong winds forced the captain to abort his plan to pull into Valparaiso, Chile and push on an additional 360 miles to Juan Fernando, where they were finally able to take on board firewood and 18,000 gallons of fresh water. Emeline Lane continued:

We stopt at the Iseland of Juan Fernandese to get wood and water which we did....it is moste all mountains and quite a gloomy appearance. I thinke the valyes are very narow but quite fertile...the mountains are very steepe the clouds allways resting upon them. The Iseland is 9 miles long. There is onely 8 persons on the Iseland...the first land we saw after we started from Newyorke. We talked of stopping at valperuso but did not on account of the wind...

[29] Lorin K. Hansen. "Voyage of the *Brooklyn*," *Dialogue: a Journal of Mormon Thought*. 47-72.

Just a week before arriving at Oahu, having lost two sons on route, Phoebe Robbins gave birth to the other baby of the voyage, a daughter whom she named Georgiana Pacific Robbins. Not knowing what reception they would get when they finally approached the Sandwich Islands and looking for an activity to break the boredom, the Mormons brought out their weapons and uniforms of denim hats and jackets sewn by the women passengers and practiced military drills on deck until the captain ordered them to stop, possibly worried about a mutiny, breaking out his own cannons and sabers. It was all for naught as they received the warm welcome for which Hawaiians have always been known after pulling up beside an American warship in Honolulu harbor, the 44 gun *Congress*. The military was gracious to them as well. Commodore Robert F. Stockton boarded the *Brooklyn* to meet with Sam Brannan and informed him that the U.S. was now at war with Mexico and planned to invade and possess California. He was pleased that the Mormons were armed and urged them to hold Yerba Buena, and sold them still more arms, a bunch of condemned Navy muskets. They unloaded the chartered freight at the harbor and spent ten days doing what all tourists do. The Hawaiians were used to visitors, already hosting 600 ships per year, mostly to and from China.

The Mormons had been orderly and regimented the whole trip, following a list of 21 rules that included rising to a bugle at 6 am, taking watch in turns, retiring to bed at 9 pm and attending Sunday meetings. They even formed a choir. However on the last leg of the trip three men and a single woman were excommunicated for "doctrinal errors and immorality." Richard Bullock[30] wrote of this incident:

...Lucy Eager had heard the early teachings of polygamy and it had made sense to her at the time. She had two beautiful daughters that she wanted to see married to responsible men. She had looked for such a match in Hawaii but found it lacking, and now Lucy tried a tactic of getting some of the men aboard the Brooklyn to look at her daughters as possible plural wives. She would talk to them in private and seek to find the best possible match for the girls; Mary, age 18, Arabella, age 14, and herself. Her persistence and methods came to the attention of Samuel Brannan. He had once been excommunicated for advocating (polygamy) and would have none of it on board.

Many of the Mormons felt he had acted too harshly on this and many other occasions. Even Edward Kemble, a non-Mormon passenger weighed in writing "probably no emigrant ship ever crossed the ocean—certainly none ever sailed to California—whose female passengers at the end of a long voyage preserved their reputations as unspotted as those of the *Brooklyn*." It took a month to reach California from the Sandwich Islands where the *Brooklyn* again drew up to an American Warship, this time the 20 gun *Portsmouth*, who had taken over the Spanish town of Yerba Buena without a fight. Commander John B. Montgomery boarded and announced that the Mormons were in the United States of

[30] Richard Bullock, *Ship* Brooklyn *Saints*: *their journey and early endeavors in California, (Sandy, Utah: R. H. Bullock, c2009,* p. 75)

America, the very country they had traveled six months to escape. They arrived July 31, 1846, nearly a year before Brigham Young's first wagon company reached Salt Lake valley.

During the voyage George Warren Sirrine had become romantically involved with 21 year old Emeline Amanda Lane, who had been traveling with her married sister Octavia and her husband Julius Augustus Caesar Austin and their three children aged seven, five, and two.

Octavia Lane had married Julius Austin September 15, 1835 in Suffield, Connecticut. He was a carpenter and joiner; she was a cigar maker. In the comfortable house that he had built they were converted by the missionaries Ezra Taft Benson and John M. Wooley January 10, 1844. They had three young children. When the fourth died at birth in May of 1845, Octavia was near death herself, but was miraculously healed by the Mormon elders. The family heeded Orson Pratt's call to flee "Babylon" by sea and embarked on the *Brooklyn*, taking Octavia's youngest sister with them. When called back to Utah they settled in Centerville, where they undoubtedly knew Charles C. Rich and families. The year after Octavia died in 1863 Julius and his sons were called to settle Bear Lake Valley with Elder Rich and with the Sirrines and Oakeys. There he married Eliza Dibble Jackson, daughter of Philo Dibble, who with her former husband had been an original settler of San Bernardino. He died in Laketown in 1903.

George and Emeline were married shortly after their arrival. The Sirrine family and some published accounts have claimed that they were the first American marriage in the history of California. That is not quite true—they were the second. In early August Basil Hall, captain of one of several whaling ships that landed at Yerba Buena just after the Saints arrived, hooked up with Elizabeth Wimmer, the 18 year old daughter of *Brooklyn* passenger George King Wimmer (also a sea captain). They were married by Brannan in the new Portsmouth Hotel, named after the conquering American warship still anchored in the bay. The building had been opportunistically converted from a tavern built a year earlier by John Henry Brown, an English sailor carried in with a supply ship, to accommodate the whalers, who found that their arrival had compounded an already severe acute housing shortage. They rented the hotel rooms for four months after which they left, taking Elizabeth Wimmer to parts unknown.

The details of the Sirrine wedding vary wildly in the various accounts. One has them married by Captain Richardson aboard the *Brooklyn* in the San Francisco Bay before even disembarking. Others say the marriage was on board ship, but performed by Sam Brannan. I side with most of the account of Warren LeRoy this time. He wrote,

G.W.S. had got pretty well acquainted with a young lady by the name of Emeline Lane. So before they got off the ship he told Emeline Lane that he wouldn't be able to work for several days (he had crushed his left hand pretty badly while helping with machinery on the ship just before arriving) *and he thought it would be the best thing for them to get married. She said she thought that would be O.K. So G.W.S. called Samuel Brannan over and he married them....*

There is no dispute about the date[31] of their marriage: August 30, 1846. By then the ship had been gone for nearly two weeks--the marriage had to have been in the town and performed by Brannan.

Before the *Brooklyn*'s arrival, Yerba Buena (later know as San Francisco) had about 200 residents inhabiting 50 adobe and frame buildings. The Mormons just about doubled the population. A few families found vacant houses to move into. Austins were one of the sixteen families which initially stayed in the adobe barracks, which had been vacated when the Spanish garrison retreated. The custom house was divided into family quarters by hanging blankets. The rest formed a tent village. The group divided up the ship's remaining rations to get them started. Austins and the Skinner family later moved with twelve other families into the Spanish Mission Dolores, about three miles from Yerba Buena. According to James Skinner, who was four years old at the time,

Mother and Mrs. Austin some way got hold of a bushel or more of wheat that had been thrashed with horses on the ground. They cleaned and washed and dried it good, then took it to be ground. The Spaniards had rigged up a pair of burrs that they used by hitching a mule to a sweep or pole. The women took me along to feed the mill; for the mule power the women was the propeling power. I fed the grain. The 2 women turned the mill and hard work it was you better believe. These were 2 very tired women when the job was done, but they had some good flour after it was sieved and made into Bread. It would have been much better if there had been less grit mixed with it.

The men were not with them just then. Brannan had been $1,000 short to Captain Richardson owing to the length of the voyage, so he sent most of them north to harvest a load of redwood for the *Brooklyn* to sell upon its return. On August 17 the ship moved up the coast to Bodega Bay where it loaded the lumber, and then in mid-September it set out for New York[32] by way of China.

Late in the fall of 1846, Brannan sent 20 *Brooklyn* families up the San Juaquin River to establish a place for the main body of overland Saints to settle. Some traveled overland, but the quickest reached the Stanislaus River junction in the *Comet*, the longboat of the *Brooklyn*, bought from Captain Richardson for that purpose. They founded a settlement called New Hope about halfway between modern Stockton and Modesto, where they cultivated 80 acres, built a sawmill and log houses. When their crops were flooded out in January 1847 they just replanted, harvesting in the spring.

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[31] Kenneth N. Owens, *Gold Rush Saints: California Mormons and Great Rush for Riches* (Spokane, Washington: Arthur H. Clark, 2004), p. 216, and Bullock, *Ship* Brooklyn *Saints,* 250.

[32] The *Brooklyn* had been reborn for this voyage, but was not done. It returned on November 15, 1848 as one of a line of packet ships between New York and San Francisco touching at Panama and intermediate ports. It also made a gold rush voyage, which reached San Francisco at 4 pm August 13, 1849 plagued with scurvy, which lead to a jury trial of Captain Richardson. In 1852 it was sold to the U.S. mail line, then sold again for scrap in 1856. In 1871 it was left rotting on a beach on the east coast of Panama.

On January 1, 1847 Brannan printed an advance extra of the *California Star* to be taken to the Saints crossing the plains telling the story of the *Brooklyn* party, publishing the first edition of the second newspaper in California on the 9th. The next issue published January 16th gave the first news of the stranded Donner party. $1,500 were raised for their rescue, which required four relief parties.

By March, 1847 the Yerba Buena had been surveyed and divided into lots. Forty-seven of the *Brooklyn* passengers bought 125 of the 730 lots, mostly located in the area where Chinatown now stands. The city was re-named San Francisco. John Sirrine was one of the *Brooklyn* party buying lots; George's name was not on that list.

In April of 1847, Sam Brannan and two or three others set out over the Donner Pass to intercept the Mormon pioneers coming by land. They met the last of the Donner relief parties on their way up the west slope of the Sierras and blasted through the snow to pass in just a couple of days. They eventually met Brigham Young and the vanguard company on June 30 at Green River, Wyoming, and met with them again in Salt Lake Valley three days after the pioneers' arrival, trying to convince the prophet to keep moving west.

Emeline and George had a baby girl on May 30, 1847 exactly nine months after their marriage. They named her Sarah Ann.

Chapter 10

Esther Ann Crismon

In 1836 the largest town in Illinois was not Chicago, which then only had about a thousand people. It was not Nauvoo either, though in its heyday in 1844 it was famously and not incorrectly described as larger than the Windy City. But in 1836 that famous Mormon town was still adjusting to its new name of Commerce, changed only two years earlier from Venus in hopes of encouraging Mississippi steamboat stops. The largest town in 1836 was Jacksonville, about 100 miles southeast of Commerce. It had been established in 1825 as the county seat of Morgan County after rapid settlement of the area by veterans of the War of 1812 who had been paid in land grants and by other pioneers.

The town was defiantly named after Andrew Jackson, right after he *lost* his populist, "save the union" campaign to reform Washington, losing to insider James Monroe when no candidate achieved a majority and the election was settled by the "corrupt bargain" with Henry Clay in the vote of the House of Representatives. Jackson was the racist celebrity hero who had defeated the British in the Battle of New Orleans and made a career defeating and relocating Native American tribes. He virtually created the Democratic Party and was later to return and win the next election plus a second term as President, truly shaking up the system in Washington.

The pride of Jacksonville was Illinois College, which had been founded by a Presbyterian minister through an association with Yale University in the east. Its main building, Beecher Hall, still stands. It was named for the college's president Edward Beecher, brother to Harriet Beecher Stowe, the author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, who appeared in town to lecture. The college had just produced its first two graduates.

Esther Ann Crismon

It was in Jacksonville that Esther Ann Crismon was born on November 27, 1836. There is some confusion about the year. Her great grandson, Larry E. Hibbert, wrote an excellent biography for her, from which I have drawn much information. He cites two sources for her age—a "family group record" and the book *Pioneers and Prominent Men in Utah*, neither of which I regard as reliable sources. Both of these agree with me on the month and day, but the family group record gives 1835 for her birth year; the pioneer book gives 1837. The year 1836 is supported by multiple secondary sources: her headstone engraving, the U.S. census in 1850 and 1860, and the California special census in 1852. Unfortunately her stated age in later censuses implies birth years of 1830, 1834, and 1837. The first two of these are impossible because she had siblings who were born in those years. 1837 is possible, but not likely. If correct, she would have married at age 14.

She had a five year old sister named Martha Jane and two brothers, George and James, ages three and one. James died while Ester Ann was still an infant. Her father Charles Christman had moved to Jacksonville from Geneva, a town just west of the fur trapper settlement of Chicago on December 28, 1828 to claim an 80 acre homestead. He was operating a mill which he had built. His father and several brothers were all millwrights. He had married sixteen year old Mary "Polly" Hill from the neighboring town of Carlinville in 1830.

Esther Ann's grandparents, George and Elizabeth Hagler (both of German descent), had moved from Hopkinsville, Kentucky where Charles was born, to Geneva between 1817 and 1824 to build a flour mill when Charles was a teenager. They were both natives of North Carolina and the first eight of their twelve children had been born there. Esther Ann's Grandpa George had fought under General Andrew Jackson at New Orleans and moved to Illinois after the war. Her great grandfather, Michael Christman, was said to have been an officer of Frederick the Great of Prussia, who settled in North Carolina on a land grant from England's King George III and murdered, having his land confiscated by the American Rebels because he remained a Tory. That's an interesting story, but I have not done the research to vouch for it. If it is true, Michael's German name was more likely originally spelled Christmann, the same name that was assumed by Jakob Christmann, a noted Jewish 16th century astronomer, who apparently made it up when he converted to Lutheranism. This part is really, really speculative. And I'm straying.

The year before Esther Ann was born, a 22 year old attorney named Stephen A. Douglas was named the county prosecutor in Jacksonville. Two months before her birth, Abraham Lincoln, who had just received his law certification, was re-elected to the Illinois legislature. When she was a year old, Lincoln was arguing cases in the Jacksonville courthouse as a circuit lawyer. I thought this might have provided a chance for Lincoln and Douglas to argue cases against each other in Jacksonville, but sadly, Douglas had moved from his post by then to fully pursue politics. Their nearest political debate was held in Alton, 60 miles away.

Esther Ann was about two years old when her father joined the Mormon Church in 1838 through the efforts of Elder Elijah Elmer, who also baptized Polly's widowed sister Elizabeth Hill Harris. Two years later through an introduction by Charles, Elder Elmer would marry Esther Ann's widowed aunt, Mary Williams Christman. This is a complicated story, which I have still not completely unraveled, but bear with me for a minute. It is tricky, but worth your concentration.

Esther Ann's uncle, Peter Christman, who was just a year older than her father, had been killed by a millstone, an occupational risk, the year before she was born. This happened in Geneva, where he had been working in her grandfather's flour mill. Peter left five children ages 1-10. His wife Mary was pregnant and delivered a sixth after his death. This baby was named Nephi, clear evidence that they had already experienced meaningful contact with the church. I think she was already a Mormon by 1835 and wonder if Peter might also have

been. Shortly after Peter died, little Nephi and also their one-year old Barbara Ellen died. Most of Peter's eleven siblings were living around Jacksonville down in Morgan County 70 miles away, but two were living in Geneva. They probably supported Mary and the remaining children for a while, since Grandpa Christman was antagonistic to Mormonism, but when Charles was baptized three years later their two families came together.

After his baptism, Charles left the family in Jacksonville, Illinois and headed straight to Jackson County, Missouri to "assist the Saints" to gather to Zion. He returned that summer to find that his actions had disturbed both his wife and his father. Charles fell deathly sick and, according to the story, two Mormon elders, none other than Joseph Smith's father, Joseph Smith Sr. and Elder Levi Merrick, dropped by in the nick of time and miraculously healed him, which converted Polly, but further antagonized his father George. His father reportedly said "You are not to take my name into Mormondom," so Charles changed his name from Christman to Crismon.

He sold all his holdings in Jacksonville and immediately moved to Zion. He took his Mormon sister-in-law Mary and her two youngest children, Henry and Elizabeth, along with his wife Mary Polly Hill, two year old Esther Ann and her older brother and sister, all of whom changed their surname. He also took his wife's widowed sister, Elizabeth Hill, and his new friend Elder Merrick.

He was relatively wealthy, taking his animals and many possessions along with the belongings of his extended family, and bought a nice farm about 25 miles from Far West, Missouri. According to the memoir of Esther Ann's sister Martha Jane, who was seven at the time, their mother's sister Elizabeth was prone to speaking in tongues, and one day in a trance warned the family to hasten to Far West, which they did in a hurry. When Charles returned to bring his stock, he found that a mob had stolen all his possessions and burned down his house. He had nothing left but the wagon and the horses he was driving. For a time his family crowded into a two room cabin in Far West with six other families. After his friend Levi Merrick was killed in the massacre at Haun's Mill and Charles himself had been arrested and briefly taken prisoner, he packed up his family and humbly moved in with his hostile father in Geneva, where the family stayed at least until March, 1840, when Esther Ann got a baby sister named Samantha. The next month her aunt Mary Williams Crismon married Elijah Elmer, the missionary who had baptized Charles in Geneva.

Then Charles was called on a mission to the southern states.

Uncomfortable living with his parents in Geneva, Charles resettled the family to Macomb, Illinois in McDonough County where his next younger brother David lived, which was only 45 miles from Nauvoo and close to Carthage. He would never see his father again. Although Charles wrote to his father, the letters were never answered. David never became a Mormon, but he stayed close to Charles, and even visited him years later in Utah.

With fellow missionaries Daniel Tyler and R. D. Sheldon, George left Geneva for Mississippi, but soon after arrival, he left them to go to Tennessee. After his two year mission he

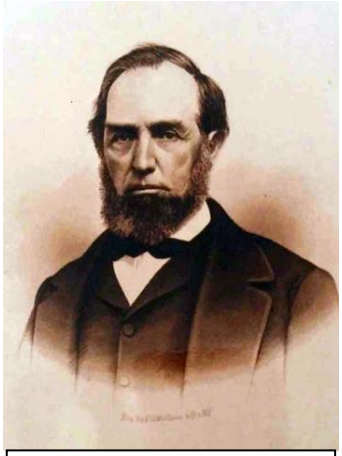
returned to report to The Prophet in Nauvoo. According to the story of Esther Ann's half-sister Ada (who was born in 1876 in Salt Lake City and could record only what had been passed down to her), Joseph Smith blessed Charles with this promise to the effect that, "...although you may be driven from place to place and lose everything you possess, your family shall never know want..." Whether uttered by The Prophet or not, there is no doubt that this came true. He told Charles to bring his family to Nauvoo—the city needed mills.

Rather than settling in Nauvoo in the summer of 1842, Charles chose to build his mill in Macedonia. He also developed a carding machine to help the farmers to process their fibers. By this time Esther Ann was six. Elijah Elmer with Mary Williams Crismon, his two step children, and their new baby, Crucy Matilda, located there too. They were to have six more children together and ended up settling Parowan, Utah.

Macedonia was an important Mormon settlement of the time, only 25 miles east of Nauvoo and just 10 miles northeast of Carthage. The town began as the settlement of a 65 year old Revolutionary War veteran named Ute Perkins and the families of his adult children. It became Fountain Green Township. In 1839 Mormon missionaries converted nearly the whole town, creating the Crooked Creek Branch, and in 1840 Hyrum Smith organized the Ramus Stake there with 112 members. Due to "internal and external problems," the stake was dissolved the next year, but there was a meetinghouse there and it remained the second most important Mormon town of its time next to Nauvoo. It was after the Crismons had come that the state legislature incorporated the town as Macedonia. By 1845, 500 Mormons were living there. Residents included the prophet's uncle, John Smith, and Anson Call.

On February 13, 1843 Esther Ann's third sister Mary Ann was born.

Joseph Smith visited the town several times to visit family and to give conferences. D&C Section 130:1-3 was given there when Joseph Smith visited with Orson Hyde and William Clayton. On the prophet's visit the next month he revealed Section 131:1-6 and stayed to pull sticks and wrestle with various members. I could find no official record that mentioned him interacting with the Crismon family. Crismon histories state that Charles made frequent trips to Nauvoo.



Charles Crismon, Sr.

Esther Ann's older sister reported in her journal that she had overheard mobbers on the road to neighboring La Harpe speaking about killing "old Joe Smith," so we know that the family experienced the religious unrest.

Charles Crismon Jr. was born in Macedonia on June 14, 1844 and was less than two weeks old when Joseph and Hyrum Smith were killed just ten miles from the Crismon home. Charles Sr. resolved to move the family to Nauvoo and by winter they had moved into a new house there. Esther Ann had just turned eight. When she turned nine, the main body

of Mormons was preparing to flee to the Great Basin. In great haste the Nauvoo Temple was completed. Charles and Polly received their endowments and were sealed on January 6, 1846. They crossed the Mississippi on February 8th and settled at Sugar Creek just seven miles past the river in the "Camp of Israel" with 2,000 others.

Brigham Young assigned Bishop George Miller to lead an advance company west to prepare the trail. Charles Crismon was selected to command a portion of the group. He took his family with him, which then included his wife and Esther Ann age 9, her older brother and sister, ages 12 and 16, and three younger siblings ages 1½, 4, and 6. Charles' two sisters-in-law had remarried. Their 52 wagons were joined by Anson Call, also from Macedonia, with 10 more wagons at Loup Fork. There an express rider brought word from Brigham Young to proceed to Grand Island and camp there for the winter. They were illegally occupying Indian Territory, and about the same time as the message from Brigham Young arrived, eight Ponca Indian chiefs came to invite the group to travel north about 100 miles to their villages on the Running Water where the Missouri River divides Nebraska from South Dakota. Ezra T. Benson and Erastus Snow found them there in October, bringing orders from Brigham Young to return to Winter Quarters. Charles returned immediately—he had been called on another mission. Mary, who was pregnant again stayed in the Ponca camp through the winter. She gave birth to their eighth child, Emily, on January 18, 1847 and returned at a slower rate with her children to winter quarters in the spring. It is hard for me to imagine how she accomplished all this.

Bishop Miller, who was already in a running feud with Brigham Young returned to Winter Quarters as instructed, but left the camp with the apostate apostle Lyman Wight for the Republic of Texas. Two years later he had defected from that Wight's group to the "Strangites" in Wisconsin.

Charles Crismon's mission call was to return with Elder Bryan W. Nowlin to Mississippi and Tennessee, where he had previously served, to recruit able young and middle-aged southern Mormon men to form an advance group which would go to the Valley to put in crops and build dwellings for the first party of Saints. They organized a group later known as the "Mississippi Saints," which managed to meet the main party at Fort Laramie but not to precede them into the valley.

Charles returned to Winter Quarters, where he joined his family and prepared them for the trek. Realizing that milling equipment would be needed, he backtracked to St. Louis with his oldest son George, by then 14 years old, to arrange for it, and then returned to leave Winter Quarters on June 21, 1847 with the Jedidiah M. Grant Company.

Chapter 11

Colonizing California

Camp of Israel, Pioneers

August 7th—1847

An Epistle of the Council of the Twelve Apostles of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to the Saints in California under the presidency of Elder Samuel Brannan,

Greeting:

...About the same time that the Brooklyn *sailed from New York, we left Nauvoo with a large emigrating Company of Saints, taking our course Westward; yet, like Father Abraham, journeying we knew not whither; our only object being to find a resting place...of peace and safety...*

...the former part of last April we left Winter Quarters, a Pioneer Company of 143 men and 75 wagons and grain sufficient to sustain our teams a few weeks, and made a new road up the north bank of the Platte to Fort Laramie...thence to Fort Bridger....thence to this, the Valley of the Great Salt Lake near 1100 miles from Winter Quarters...

Elder Brannan met us on our route at Green River and is still with us. Since our arrival at this place we have plowed, planted & sowed extensive fields of Corn, Potatoes, Buck Wheat, Peas, Beans, turnips, & a numberless variety of Garden seeds....We have selected a site for a city which for beauty & convenience we have never before seen equaled. It is on a gentle declivity, where every garden house, lot, or room may be abundantly supplied with Cold Water from the mountains at pleasure; the site is now under survey, 10 acres being reserved for a Temple lot....

Thus we have given you a very brief, though general idea of the events that have transpired relative to the Church since you left New York; & Elder Brannan will be able to give you many particulars...We are satisfied with your mission which you have taken to California...

In behalf of the Council,

Brigham Young Prest

Willard Richards, Clerk

Thus wrote Brigham Young, sounding uncharacteristically diplomatic, to a disappointed group of Saints in California, who had been busy preparing for him and the main body to join them. The Saints were settling in Utah and were not going to budge.

It is not clear exactly when this decision was made, despite the legend engraved in brass on the monument at Emigration Canyon. I suspect Brigham made up his mind to stop in the Great Basin, if only temporarily, long before arriving. At least to Sam Brannon there seemed to be a possibility of changing Brigham's mind even after their surprise meeting at

Green River on June 30th when he informed the prophet of the New Hope colony raising 150 acres of wheat and potatoes for them in the San Joaquin Valley. Brannan followed Brigham Young to The Valley, arriving with Amasa Lyman, Rodney Badger, and Roswell Stevens on July 27 to continue discussions, immediately joining the prophet and thirteen others on an exploring expedition to the Great Salt Lake. They swam in the lake, extracted samples of salt and camped on the shore. That night back at the main camp Brigham assembled the pioneers at the spot he had struck with his stick to declare the place for the temple block to express their feelings about locating there. Unsurprisingly, the motion to stay was carried unanimously.

Wilford Woodruff[33] later wrote that Brannan "...looked upon the desolation and barrenness, and tried with all the power he had to persuade President Young not to stop here, but to go on to California...(but) President Young was inspired to come here...." He recalled seeing the Mormon leader strike the soil with his cane and answer Brannan, "No, sir; I am going to stop right here. I am going to build a city here. I am going to build a temple here, and I am going to build a country here."

Now I will attempt to tell the complicated tale of how this decision molded the lives of the Sirrines and Crismons and the three "California apostles." Try to stay with me here. My plan is tell the story chronologically as much as possible. George Warren Sirrine, Esther Ann Crismon, Charles C. Rich, Amasa Lyman, and George Q. Cannon were all in different places on the date of Brigham Young's letter on August 7, 1847 to the Saints in Yerba Buena, soon to be re-named San Francisco. Though they were apart, I will try to blend the stories of George and Esther Ann from this point, bringing in the apostles as appropriate.

On that date, Esther Ann was on the pioneer trail, 748 miles away from Salt Lake City in the Jedediah M. Grant and Willard Snow Company. A co-traveler[34] wrote that day:

Saturday the 7 of August we reached fort laramie...we have had hard work to get along the roads, sandy & of a dead level, a good many lame cattle & their necks very sore. Hot weather & very little feed &tc. Burried one woman out of our company. Stopt one day to pull over our wagons that we might lighten up & reached the fort neerly discouraged... an old fort of some unburnt brick a trading house & a few white men without wives & appear to be of but little more camp experience then Schlemihl without his shadow. We here cross the Platt & commenced to wind among the black hills...

On August 26, 1847 Jefferson Hunt was dispatched from Salt Lake Valley with Porter Rockwell and 17 others to explore a southern route to California. They reached Isaac Williams' Chino ranch in 45 days nearly starved, having eaten up all their food by Las Vegas. They had eaten three of their horses before being rescued by Mexicans sent from

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[33] Woodruff, *The discourses of Wilford Woodruff*, p. 322-3 as quoted in *Scoundrel's Tale* by Will Bagley.

[34] Jacob Gate Journal 1836-1861 vol. 2, www.history.lds.org/overlandtravel/companies/340/jedediah-m-grant-willard-snow-company

the ranch. After recovering his strength under the care of Isaac Williams, Hunt started back on February 15, 1848 for Salt Lake City with 200 cows, 40 bulls, grain and potatoes, arriving in May of 1848 with only 97 cows and a single bull. Hunt had met Williams previously while serving with the Mormon Battalion in 1847 and had written to Brigham Young on May 14 of that year, "We have a very good offer to purchase a large valley sufficient to support 50,000 families 30 miles from this place, 20 miles from a good ship landing. We may have the land and stock, 8,000 head, with immense quantity of horses for $500 down." This turned out to be a little too optimistic, as we will see.

On the same day that Hunt and Rockwell had left for California, August 26, 1847, Brigham Young left Salt Lake with Amasa Lyman and other church leaders to return to Winter Quarters to help the main body of the Saints. On September 5th they met Charles C. Rich and George Q. Cannon coming west at South Pass. Young George Q. was driving a wagon, traveling with his Uncle John Taylor's family. They were not in the same train with Rich—in fact GQC accidentally collided with CCR's wagon in passing and broke the axle-tree, expecting, but not receiving a reprimand from the apostle.[35] Two days later they encountered the Crismons in the Grant Company at Strawberry Creek.

The three groups arrived separately in the valley about a month later, Cannon with John Taylor on September 29, and Rich and his family with "three pairs of negro slaves"[36] on October 2. By prior orders of Brigham Young, Charles C. Rich was sustained the next day as counselor to John Smith with John Young in the Salt Lake stake presidency. On October 4th his mother died after living in Zion for just two days. That day he spoke up to the high council, who had already decided on the location for a grist mill, recommending that the mill operator be protected against any losses.

The Crismons were in the Jedidiah M. Grant Company, the last wagon train to arrive in Salt Lake that year on October 10th. Within three days the site for a grist mill and saw mill had been determined in City Creek Canyon. From the Journal History of the Church, October 13, 1847:

The High Council of the Great Salt Lake City met at the house of President John Smith at 8 o'clock....Ira Eldridge of the mill committee reported that they had found a good site on City Creek that would not interfere with irrigation and that Brother Charles Crismon was ready to build there, if permitted to do so. It was decided to accept the report and that the mill builders go to work speedily. It was decided to sustain whoever built the mill in labor good pay and as much grain as the people could be persuaded to spare.[37] Charles Crismon had brought materials with him for the grist mill and was already planning a lumber mill as

[35] Davis Bitton, *George Q Cannon: A Biography,* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1999), p. 1653 Kindle Edition.
[36] Leonard J. Arrington, *Charles C. Rich,* (Provo, Utah: BYU Press, 1974), p. 127.
[37] Charles H. Crismon, *Charles Crismon Western Pioneer*, (Manuscript), p. 23.

well. Prices were controlled by the council and he was supported by council allocations during construction of the mill.

In Winter Quarters that fall Amasa Lyman was called away to bring more immigrants from the southern states. He left December 28, 1847 with Ezra T. Benson, Erastus Snow and William Appleby, who were going to the east for the same purpose. By March he had filled several wagon trains and directed one himself, leading 13 families, 90-100 individuals in all including about 35 slaves, north through Tennessee and Kentucky to the Ohio River where they took passage on the Mississippi River to St. Louis, purchased supplies there, and continued on to the Missouri River to Council Bluffs. On July 3, 1848 he led a wagon train containing the southern group from Winter Quarters to the Salt Lake Valley. Lyman and George A. Smith were co-captains of the company, traveling alongside Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball.

The Salt Lake Stake High Council took up the matter of the mill again on March 6, 1848:

...Brother Charles Crismon has a small grist mill with one run of small stones in operation on City Creek...also, Brother Crismon has the frame and gearing of a saw mill nearly ready to put up.

The Crismon family stayed in the old fort in Salt Lake until their house was completed, which had to wait for the grist and lumber mills. The mills are no longer standing, but a memorial plaque stands near the entrance to City Creek Canyon, just north of Brigham Young's farm. Their house was built in what is now Sugar House, the first in that part of Salt Lake City, and the first in the whole valley with a wood roof and floors. Clearly Charles had easy access to milled wood. They moved into it in the fall of 1848.

Meanwhile, in California the New Hope settlement near the Stanislaus River was abandoned in September when it had become clear that Brigham Young was going no farther than Utah. That was about the time that Brigham was on his way back to Winter Quarters to bring more Saints to Zion.

While many of the pioneers scattered to surrounding areas to settle, George and Emeline stayed in Yerba Bueno, moving first into a modest house—probably one of those left by the retreating Mexican soldiers. George's training and work experience allowed him to obtain credit and he quickly established himself. According to Warren LeRoy, George bought a city block and eventually owned 13 blocks in the center of town. There is some reason to think that the following story is a yarn because although John Sirrine bought a block, George's name does not appear on the first property map of the city. Perhaps he bought out a lot of people later.

Warren LeRoy goes on:

In a short time the Government asked for bids on several hundred thousand feet of square timber for making forts. George had made several saw mills, so he thought he would put in a bid. He didn't care whether he got it or not so he put in his bid so high that if he got it he could

make a few thousand dollars. Well his was the only bid and he got it and built the mill and had the logs all on the yard for to fill the contract and had sent word for the Government to send two six mule teams and he loaded them and told them to send 6 mule teams every day until it was all hauled....

He was on the verge of great success. However before the order could go out, a flood raised the river 16 feet, wiping out the mill and all the lumber. Under pressure for the money he had borrowed for materials and wages, he went to "Old Dad Stringham" and borrowed $4,000 on his word only, paid his debts, and then retired the loan by selling off his city lots. I have no documentation for this story, but it rings true to me. There are plenty more stories of big enterprises for George such as this in the decades to follow.

George's older brother John Sirrine, the carpenter, allegedly built the first frame house on the Pacific Coast, which soon became a gathering place for New Yorkers. When a school district was formed John was elected a trustee. He became superintendent of the Parker House Hotel. He and Nancy had a baby girl on November 17, 1847 whom they named Mary.

The Mormon Battalion had been discharged July 16, 1847 in Los Angeles and a group of 163 men made their way up through the desert country of central California, arriving at Sutter's Fort in late August. There they split up, some staying to work while the rest continued on to Utah, arriving in Salt Lake City October 16th. Among the forty who stayed and one of the four credited with the discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill on January 24, 1848 was James S. Brown,[38] who later played a major part in England in the Oakey family story. The four men and Sutter kept the gold find a secret while Sutter and Marshal, the mill owners, worked (unsuccessfully) on securing the title from the Indians. By February 27th the rest of the battalion members, who had been working about 25 miles downstream from the mill project at Sutter's Fort, found out about the gold, and all were soon prospecting for it at Mormon Island and elsewhere after work. Brannan's employee named Smith, who ran his store at the fort, wrote about it to his boss around late March. Brannan made a personal visit on May 4th and rode the 110 miles home by horse rather than wait for a boat. He made his famous hat-waving announcement of "thar's gold in them hills" on the San Francisco dock on May 10, 1848 after quietly securing all available merchandise for his stores. That week Brannan attended his last ever Mormon church service, urging all the *Brooklyn* Saints to rush to the mines, which most of them did. He then followed them back to collect "tithes," which he claimed were for the church. In actuality he claimed 30% of all gold found in those days through church members' contributions and through contractual agreements with ex-battalion members whom he had supplied. Apparently part of that money did make its way to Salt Lake, some of it in a gift to Brigham Young. Brannan became California's first millionaire. Two days later a young Mormon Battalion veteran named John Borrowman, who had attended Brannan's "sermon" decided to quit his job digging foundations to look for better work digging minerals, and asked for help arbitrating

[38] See p. 155.

a wage dispute. He felt he was owed $2 per day, but Brother Mowry[39] refused to pay above shipman's pay of $1 per day on the grounds that Borrowman was a sailor, having worked his way to San Francisco on board a ship from Los Angeles. They agreed to leave the issue to the decision of two good men. That night Brothers Glover and Sirrine decided in his favor and Mowry paid up. George Sirrine did not go to the gold fields at that point.

Unbeknownst to George, his brother Mephibosheth had died May 29, 1848 on the Ohio River returning from his mission in England.

Among the many in the *Brooklyn* Company who did chase gold the spring of 1848 was John Sirrine, who worked a claim successfully until he ran out of supplies, and then returned to San Francisco to invest his gold. According to his biography:

He bought lots, built on them, sold out, and built more, making a handsome profit...he was the most prominent builder in the town....(He) *engaged in getting out redwood timber, rafting it down the river to the coast. He built the first warehouse in the city...He built many business blocks, public buildings, and dwellings.*

In 1850, having recovered his health, John Sirrine returned to Trumansburg, where he invested his fortune. His children George and May both died young, but Nancy bore him Cordelia, who lived to old age after bearing him his biographer, Laura Rudy. In 1870 he returned to California on the railroad. I wonder whether he stopped off to visit George, who was living by then in Paris, Idaho. John Sirrine stayed for six months in the bay area. He was hoping to sail home via Panama, but his steamer was shipwrecked. After he was rescued and returned to San Francisco he took the train back to New York and never traveled abroad again.

Another family with gold fever was the Austins, George Warren Sirrine's in-laws. Like John Sirrine, they stayed in the gold fields only a few weeks, making $100 per day according to Emeline's letter to her mother, working Mormon Island. But faithfully heeding Brigham Young's call they left the gold fields with Ebenezer Brown's company of 140 Saints for Utah on July 16, 1848 and arrived in Farmington in October. Julius and Octavia Austin were sealed in the Endowment House March 8, 1852.

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[39] Harley Mowry had been in the Mormon Battalion and his family was with Amasa Lyman and Charles C. Rich on the wagon train to settle San Bernardino. Harley's father had gone to San Francisco on the *Brooklyn*, so he went immediately from San Bernardino to visit his family. After the Mormons left San Bernardino in 1857 the family settled in Centerville where Charles C. Rich lived and moved with him to settle Paris. Harley brought the first mechanical harvester to Paris. He had purchased it in San Francisco while living in San Bernardino and freighted it to Centerville, later to Paris. Interestingly, Harley's mother Ruth settled in Kaysville from 1857 through 1869. This was during the three years that the Oakey family lived there. There is no doubt that they were in the same ward from 1863-1865. Ruth Mowry would have been 14 years older than Mary C. Later Mowrys moved to Paris, Idaho, where they evidently remained friends. In Sarah's 1878 daybook she records traveling with Mary C and Hyrum from Cottonwood to Paris to have dinner with the family.

We know few details about George Warren Sirrine during that period. He was described by Emeline's cousin Samuel Lane as "man of considerable enterprise." One of his biographers stated without elaboration or documentation that he at one time owned a steamship that traded between San Francisco and San Bernardino. In his impressive biography of George's future father-in-law, Charles Crismon, the author[40] wrote: "George (had) engaged in mill building up and down the state for some time..." prior to his second marriage to Esther Ann Crismon.

Back in Utah that September, 1848 Charles and his mill again came to the attention of the Salt Lake Stake high council when Charles asked for an increase in his allowable toll for grinding wheat from one sixteenth to one tenth. Although the Crismon mills were the first in the valley, others were springing up. Perhaps that is the reason that Heber C. Kimball found the request excessive and recommended that the mill be closed. I do not know whether or not it closed at that time, but this impelled Charles Crismon to begin to look elsewhere to make his fortune.

Mormon Battalion veterans and *Brooklyn* Saints arrived in the valley from California in October with reports of gold. The following winter was truly severe, followed by crickets, meager crops and near starvation the following summer. This was not good for the milling industry.

Back to California...

His biographers wrote of George Warren Sirrine that he was not tall, but very well built and athletic, good at boxing and wrestling. There are many stories of his youth in which he was able to hold his own physically in tight situations, often with adults. Sam Brannan was aware of George's experience in police work in New York and relied on George to play the role of enforcer for him. As a remote port and frontier town, San Francisco had serious law and order problems, especially as it grew wildly during the gold excitement.

In the fall of 1848 Brannan prosecuted Charles E. "Philosopher" Pickett for murder in a farcical show trial. After a drunken band of American veterans known as "The Hounds" rioted in the Chilean section of San Francisco on July 15, 1849, Brannan, who had earlier supported the gang turned against them. Standing on a barrel in the street, he condemned them and organized the listening mob into a volunteer police force which he called the Vigilance Committee, naming George Warren Sirrine the head. The Hounds were rounded up, imprisoned on the warship *Warren*, and on July 17, 1849 a grand jury indicted them. Nine Hounds including their leader Sam Roberts, were sentenced to 10 years hard labor, but since California had no prisons there was not much to be done about it, though several of the men were hanged later in the gold mines.[41] Warren LeRoy wrote entertainingly about this story at length, with great exaggeration, promoting Brannon to mayor, making Jack Powers the leader of the gang (he was a member, but acquitted) and inflating the

[40] Chrisman, *Charles Crismon Western Pioneer*, p. 26.
[41] Will Bagley, *Scoundrel's Tale, The Sam Brannan Papers* (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1999), 312-317.

number convicted to 49. But if not the hero that Warren LeRoy described, George certainly had a prominent role, though at this point working for Brannan may not have been the most honorable thing to be doing.

In mid-November, 1848, Colonel Richard Mason's report on California gold to President James K. Polk found its way into the newspapers causing gold fever to sweep the nation.

The winter of 1848-49 was really hard in the Salt Lake Valley. According to George Q. Cannon's biography, the temperature reached -33° on February 5th. It was a dark time of starvation extending through the summer in Utah.

In California, few details of George Warren Sirrine's life are known of this period. And then after a dearth of information appears an actual family letter full of information, although this one raises as many questions as it answers. The following letter is from George's first wife Emeline.[42] I am quite certain that the letter was misdated by one year since Emeline probably died August 20, 1849, and the letter seems to be written in the thick of the gold rush. She was writing to her parents in Suffield, Connecticut, catching them up on her sister Octavia Austin, who had returned to Salt Lake City with her family.

San Francisco, April 10, 1850 (I believe 1849)

Dear Father and Mother

I now take this opportunity to write you a few lines to let you know of my welfare. My health is good at the present and I hope you are enjoying the same blessing of God. It is more than two years since I have written home. Perhaps you think I have been negligent, but it is not neglect. I have been two hundred miles from this place, where vessels do not come that are going to the States, and that is the reason I have not written.

Julius and Octavia have gone to the Church, which is about a thousand miles from here in the valley of the Great Salt Lake. They started the first of July 1848. We were at Santa Cruz at the time they started so we did not see them. I had not seen them for two years. They were in good health. The children have grown very much. Loesa (Louise Maria Austin) *has gotten to be a great girl. Octavia was very well and in good spirits when she started away. There was a large company that went. I have heard that they got there all safe and well. I have not had any letter from them yet....*

Then she reported on eight more families known to her parents, many of whom had also gone on to Salt Lake. She remarked on news her parents had furnished about Julius and Caroline Harmon, who had a little girl. Caroline was another older sister—both sisters married men named Julius.

We got the letter from the office that you and Julius wrote. I think it was in February. We read it then. I shall send them to Salt Lake the first chance I have. I was glad to hear that you was able and also Julius and Caroline and much pleased to hear they have a little girl. Tell

[42] Owens, *Gold Rush Saints*

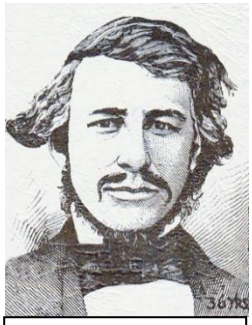
them I think my little Sarah Ann (Sirrine) *will be a match for her according to Caroline's description. She is a very good looking little girl and as pleasant disposition child as ever you see. She is her father's favorite. We have been married three years the 30th of next August. Sarah will be two years old the 30th of next month.*

Next she gives news and a description of California and its climate. Then she writes,

I will tell you a little about the gold mines which have been discovered. It was discovered by the Mormons. It is in the mountains and valleys along the Sacramento and San Wakeesa (Joaquin) *rivers. It is found in abundance. They are all between two hundred and three hundred miles in length. It is the richest gold mine ever discovered in the world. Thousands of people are here and thousands are coming. Money is plenty, land is raising every day, wages high. Carpenters get sixteen dollars a day. Lumber is $600 dollars a thousand. All kinds of building material in proportion. Provisions are high of all kinds except vegetables. Vegetables cannot be obtained. Potatoes a York shilling pound, pork forty dollars a barrel, all kinds of eatables in proportion. I cannot write all I want to. Goods of all kinds sell at a great profit. I shall not advise anyone to come here, but do as you please. There are all kinds of people collecting here to get gold. My husband is doing well. We are worth about $6,000, which is not a fortune in California. He is preparing to go to the mine. He can get $16 a day (in his current work) but he has a chance to go to the mines to take out a few pounds. They get from $16 to 100 dollars a day and sometime more; it is all chance.*

I was going to write another letter to Julius but I have not time. Tell him I have not any Mormon (news)paper to send. There is none printed. The Church is going to stay where they are at the present, it will be the stronghold of Zion.

Let me try to parse this letter.


Samuel A. Lane

First, why do I think the date is wrong? Well, all sources agree that George and Emeline were married August 30, 1876. If the letter was written in 1850 Emeline had counted her anniversaries wrong, hard to imagine. Other parts of the letter support the earlier date or are least compatible with it. For example, all events dated in the letter happened before April 10, 1849 and are thus compatible with the earlier date including the birth of Caroline's little girl on August 26, 1846. The most convincing reason is that Emeline's cousin, Samuel A. Lane, who traveled by land to California from New York in 1850, recorded in his diary[43] that he had learned of Emeline's death before he left. He departed from his home in Akron, Ohio on March 14, 1850 and was on the Oregon Trail by April 1.

[43] Smith, J. E.. *Gold rush: The overland diary of Samuel A. Lane, 1850.* (Summit County Historical Society, 1984).

Emeline wrote that she had not yet heard back from Octavia. The Austins arrived in the Salt Lake Valley in October, 1848. I understand that it might take all winter to get word back, but a year and a half seems unlikely.

The letter suggests that George had not yet tried his hand at mining, but intended to try. To go mining for the first time in 1849 would make much more sense than in 1850. Incidentally, one of his biographers wrote that he did try mining only long enough to get enough gold for a ring for himself. Here's Warren LeRoy's version:

During all of the Gold excitement of California George never worked a day in the gold fields. But one day as he was passing by a friends of his that was working a number of men in the mines and was doing very well, George told him that he would like to take one of the Gold pans and wash out enough gold to make him a good gold ring. O.K. he said and he showed George how to use the pan and in a short time he came back and asked George how he was getting along. He showed him how much gold he had and he said you have got $10.00. Enough to make a good ring. So he made a ring out of the gold that he worked out of the mine.

I would like to see the original letter from Emeline to determine whether the date was actually on the original letter and mis-transcribed or missing and just estimated by the transcriber. I have tried without success to correspond with Richard Bullock, who is said to possess it.

Second, what does Emeline mean when she says she has been away 200 miles from San Francisco where vessels do not come that are going to the states? Where could she have been? Two hundred miles east would take her to Carson City. To the southeast it is about the distance to the San Joaquin Valley. Could they have been there? North up the California coast makes no sense. The south coast makes more sense except wouldn't there be ships there to take mail? Maybe she was exaggerating the distance to a closer place such as the gold fields (80 miles). She mentioned work at Santa Cruz. The Sirrines may well have been remote from postal service in the Aptos area milling redwoods, but that would have been only 75 miles from San Francisco. I would love to know the answer.

An estimated 10,000 gold seekers travelled through Salt Lake City in 1849. Brigham strongly warned the Saints that they would do better to collect money from the gold seekers than from the ground, but Charles Crismon had seen enough. He sold both of his mills to Brigham Young, entrusted his Sugar House home to a friend, and prepared his family for another 800 mile wagon trip.

I know very little about Esther Ann during the year and a half spent in the Salt Lake Valley. By the time her family left the valley in May of 1849, she had become the number two woman in the family at age 13. Martha Jane had left the household to marry John Moss Lewis the previous August. Although Martha and John traveled in the same company with Crismons to California, Esther Ann probably played an adult's role caring for her parents'

children, now nine, six, five, and two years old; her mother was in her seventh month of pregnancy. Her older brother George was nearly 16 and was probably doing men's work.

The party took the longer Humboldt route through Idaho to avoid the desert, but ended up crossing the Sierras where the Donner party had been stranded three years earlier, finishing their trip at Sutter's Fort, which is now Sacramento, on July 3, 1849. Amasa Lyman's group had arrived about six weeks earlier. He was busy visiting all the Mormons that he could find to collect tithing. I figured the family would stay in Sacramento, at least until the baby was born, but it was a raucous tent city and the birthplace of their ninth child Ellen is given as California Gold Mine, Placer County, California. She was born July 19, just two weeks after their arrival. Charles Crismon was working at Mormon Island.

That July, Amasa Lyman headed back to Utah with $4,000 in tithing that he had collected from the miners and *Brooklyn* Saints, declaring Northern California a lost cause, and suggesting San Bernardino as a more appropriate gathering place for Mormons.[44]

A month later Emeline Amanda Lane Sirrine died in San Francisco on her fourth wedding anniversary. She is said to have died of a complication of pregnancy.

Lyman arrived in SLC just in time for general Conference. There Charles C. Rich was called to assist apostle Lyman, who had already been appointed in April to preside in California. In his letter of assignment Brigham Young instructed them to gather, organize, receive tithing and immigration fund donations and do missionary work. They were to create a Pacific base for immigration, and also to organize the northern California Saints, and to investigate Sam Brannon.

Gold fever was raging. In 1850 an estimated 15,000 gold seekers passed through Utah. Three thousand of them camped for the winter of 1849-50 in Salt Lake City.

Evidently taken in themselves by gold fever, Apostles George A. Smith and Ezra T. Benson, who were laboring in the Eastern States, wrote to Lyman and to Rich asking for $5,000 in gold to support their missions. They would pay it back as they were able.

Young George Q. Cannon was assigned that October conference, as part of a small group of trustworthy young men known as "gold missionaries," to work in the gold fields to enrich the church. However, a careful reading of his journal during the time when he was actually working the claims suggests that at least some of the gold ended up divided among the missionaries. George Q. wrote that he was not too happy at first with the assignment. He started late, but caught up with Rich and traveled with him. Francis M. Pomeroy, Jefferson Hunt, James Brown, and Addison Pratt were also called. They joined a late-arriving non-Mormon pioneer group headed for California, whom they offered to guide along the new southern route. Encountering disagreements, they split along the way at Beaver, with Rich guiding the impatient gentiles. After numerous wrangles, unfortunate trail choices, and

[44] Owens, *Gold Rush Saints.*

bad feelings, on 18 November 1849 Charles C. Rich rejoined Jefferson Hunt, leaving the gentiles to their own devices.

In the meantime, Charles and young George Crismon were working a mine on the north bar of the American River and were reportedly producing $100 a day in gold, but by winter the family had moved to San Francisco, where they lived at Mission Dolores. Esther Ann turned 14 that November. They must have bought impressive quarters there, since they hosted several important guests.

That December Charles C. Rich, George Q. Cannon, and the Mormon travelers arrived in California via Las Vegas. They met Isaac Williams at Rancho Chico and stayed a month recovering from the desert crossing. On January 12, 1850 the party left the Chico ranch, traveling by wagon to the coast where Charles C. Rich planned to travel by steam ship to San Francisco.

That January, Lyman, who had returned to California via the northern route was taking care of church business. After meeting with Sam Brannon he agreed to go with Captain Jesse D. Hunter to San Diego, but first visited Sutter's Fort by boat. According to his journal he visited Dr. William McIntire and lodged at his house. He then visited gold camps until going by boat back down the American river to San Francisco. He noted that on February 2nd he went to the mission (Dolores--a popular tavern and way station for travelers) and lodged with Br. Crismon there. By the end of the week, he and Charles Crismon had boarded a ship together with two others, Jesse D. Hunter and Robert Clift, bound for San Pedro to investigate land in Southern California where the Mormons could thrive. Finding that they had just missed Charles C. Rich, who had already departed for San Francisco, Lyman returned immediately on the ship *Placair* for the bay area with the rest of the brethren from Utah including George Q. Cannon, but Charles and Brother Hunter went inland to negotiate with Isaac Williams, aiming to buy his large ranch at Chino, for the Mormons.

When Lyman arrived at San Francisco he found that Rich had already gone to the mines. Waiting for him to return, he met with Addison Pratt, who was on his way back from a mission in Tahiti, at the Crismon home. He then shipped for Sacramento with the gold missionaries. There he finally met with Charles C. Rich, who returned with him to Sacramento, and then on April 5th to San Francisco.

Charles Crismon and Brother Hunter returned from Chino to San Francisco on April 8th with a positive report for the apostles.

Esther Ann's father had gone directly to Isaac Williams in Chino and struck a deal to build and run a mill for him in exchange for a house and land at the Chino Ranch. His intent was to work toward creating an environment in which a Mormon colony could thrive. In the meantime, the apostles Rich and Lyman were concluding that there was no real future for the church to thrive in the gold fields. The most loyal Saints had departed for Utah and the rest had little interest in paying tithing or attending church. They wrote a letter to that

effect to Brigham Young recommending settlement in the Chino area and advising him that they had already sent a few good men to begin the process.

Apostle Lyman continued to stay with the Crismons. I believe that Esther Ann's future husband probably met her about that time. In a single entry in Lyman's journal on April 15, 1850 he mentions both George Warren Sirrine and the Crismons:

To Mission Dolores, Lodged at Bro Crismons. Ordained Bro Sirrine to office of Elder. Next day returned to San Francisco. (Mission Dolores and San Francisco were a few miles apart in those days.)

Lyman mentioned the Crismons and George Sirrine repeatedly in his journal that month. On April 18, 1850 he wrote, "Today appointed Brs. G. W. Sirrine and E. W. Pell agents to procure means for building a chapel." And the next day, "Parted with the brethren in Francisco and went to the Mission to Br Charles Crismons" for two nights.

The next day Parley P. Pratt and James S. Brown, missionaries called the previous October Conference to travel with Elder Rich and the gold missionaries, departed for Hawaii. Lyman then made a large loop from San Jose to Mariposa to Placerville to Sacramento and back visiting the Mormons in the gold fields with Elder Rich and at times with Jefferson Hunt, returning to San Francisco on June 24. He wrote, "...settled tithing accounts and found myself poor in funds but sufficient to pay the church's debts." Sam Brannon gave him a present of $500.

On June 29, Lyman wrote, "dined with Br. Crismon," and on July 2, "lodged with Br. Crismon." On July 9, 1850, "Brs. Crismon and Lewis paid some tithing." Lewis was John Moss Lewis, Esther Ann's brother-in-law.

About that time Charles Crismon left his family in San Francisco and moved to the Williams Ranch in Chino.

Then on July 14, Elder Lyman shipped up the river for Sacramento on his way to Salt Lake City. In Sacramento Lyman and Rich prepared their report to the brethren (care of Thomas Bullock) on July 23, 1850, that there was no more tithing to be collected, that the Mormons in that area were generally corrupted by the gold craze, and that the church should concentrate on settling the Rancho Chino area where they had already sent a few men to settle (including Charles Crismon). They recommended that settlers be sent via the southern route to California that fall.[45]

On September 24, 1850 George Q. Cannon was mining gold with other missionaries on Slap Jack Bar of the American River when Lyman and Rich were passing through on their way to Salt Lake City. Rich called him and his companions join the other missionaries in the Sandwich Islan, and the gold mission was over. Lyman, Rich, Orrin Porter Rockwell, and 50 other men set out for Utah on October 5th. Apparently not quite ready to quit, Georg Q.

[45] Owens, *Gold Rush Saints* p. 233.

Cannon in his journal recorded a rich week mining, bringing in $200, $444, and $92 apiece over a week's time until their diggings failed. Then they went to San Francisco. On October 27th he wrote, "In House all day troubled with the diarrhea. A brother by the name of Geo. Serrine [Sirrine] called upon us; we had some conversation with him about the Islands &c. He promised to call again. " Still waiting to depart for the islands, Elder Cannon made a rather cynical observation about the California gold Saints: "In fact you speak to the majority of the folks professing to be Latter-day Saints (here, about) going to Salt Lake Valley (and it) is an after consideration, to be done when it was the only resort." One week after, he wrote: "Waiting patiently for the vessel to start, I never was so tired of a place as I have been of this (;) wickedness in almost every form is to be seen here and the people are ripening for destruction fast." He did not get away until November 22. His steamer arrived in the islands on December 11 and his mission would last until August, 1854.

On November 11, Charles C. Rich arrived home in Centerville, but was in Salt Lake City the next morning where he learned that he and Amasa Lyman were to settle San Bernardino as soon as spring weather permitted.

It was probably around late summer of 1850 that Samuel A. Lane, the non-Mormon brother of George Sirrine's first wife Emeline, arrived in San Francisco. He was an adventurer from the east who wrote an interesting trail journal of his trip west in 1850, which became a book: *Gold Rush: The Overland Diary of Samuel A. Lane, 1850* edited by Jeffrey E. Smith. In Lane's published diary he wrote that he located George Warren Sirrine and the "little girl," his niece Sarah Ann, in a comfortable house in the "upper part of the city." He visited them frequently during the following year.

Following are some relevant excerpts.

...a year or two previous, Mormon Missionaries had visited...Connecticut... and had made quite a large number of converts--among the rest Cousin Octavia and her husband, Julius Austin, and Cousin Emeline, Uncle Ashbel's youngest daughter--the one who so greatly surprised the old folks, by giving me such vigorous cousinly hugs, and kisses, on the occasion referred to...

In the next paragraph he describes the voyage of the *Brooklyn* and the return of Octavia Austin and her family to Salt Lake City.

...Cousin Emeline, however, did not accompany them. On the trip out, she had become acquainted with a young Mormon from the State of New York by the name of George W. Sirrine, and on their arrival at San Francisco, had married him; and, being a fellow of considerable enterprise, though still adhering to the Mormon faith, he determined to settle in San Francisco. Of these facts I had been apprised, through letters, and by visits to their parents, in Suffield, and when making arrangements for our California journey. I anticipated a good deal of pleasure, both for them, as well as myself, in seeing my Mormon cousins, both at Salt Lake City, and at San Francisco. Just before starting, however, I received the painful intelligence of the death of Cousin Emeline--leaving one child, a little girl then between two and three years old.

Unfortunately Samuel also lost his chance to visit the Austins in Salt Lake when his companions insisted that he accompany them to California on the northern route, which by-passed the city.

On reaching San Francisco, I hunted up my Mormon Cousin-in-law, Mr. George W. Sirrine, and his little girl. He was quite an enterprising and gentlemanly appearing young man, and was worth considerable property; having a comfortable dwelling house, in the upper part of the city, occupied, since the death of Cousin Emeline, by the family of a wholesale Grocer, with whom he and his little girl boarded. During my two year's stay there, I used to frequently visit them, the little girl and myself becoming very great friends, indeed. She was almost the exact image of her dead mother at her age; and before I came away I took her down to the city and had her picture taken, to present to her grandparents, Uncle Ashbel and Aunt Anna, and with which they were greatly delighted. I saw but little of Mr. Sirrine the last six or eight months of my stay there, he having gone to San Bernardino, a New Mormon settlement, in the Southeastern portion of the State, where he had built quite an extensive Flouring Mill, in the running of which it was said he was rapidly grinding out a fortune. Of the present status of our Mormon Cousins, I am not advised.

We learn as much about Sirrines in San Francisco from this chance account as from all other sources, especially of the last two or three years that George was there.

Although he came too late to visit his cousin Emeline, Samuel Lane spent two years in San Francisco, 1850-52, including time with both George Warren Sirrine and Sarah Ann. In addition to supporting my contention that Emeline's letter was written in 1849, we learn that George was relatively wealthy and was living with his daughter much of this time. The fact that he had seen George (and likely Sarah Ann) "but little" in his last six to eight months suggests to me that George may have returned at least once to San Francisco from San Bernardino.

Charles Crismon was farming the acreage he had obtained at Chino ranch and building a mill. Hibbert writes that Charles moved his family down that June, although his daughter Martha Jane wrote that they moved to the Williams Ranch in Southern California in 1851. The move could not have been in June, since Charles is mentioned in Lyman's diary in July, still at Mission Dolores. If it happened in 1851, it must have been early that year. The enumerator for the 1850 U.S. Census in Los Angeles was a little behind schedule by the time he got to Chino. On February 14, 1851 he listed Charles Crismon, Mary Polly Hill, and all their children. George Crismon, age 17, was listed as a laborer. Esther Ann was 14. And so on down through infant Ellen. In the same household were Leonard Ellege, John, Jane, and William Lewis—all from Illinois and all 18-22 years old, boarding with Charles at his house in Chino. Leonard Ellege was Esther Ann's 22 year old uncle, the husband of Mary Polly Hill's younger sister, who was still in Illinois with their two young children. He had been counted in that census in Illinois as well, having traveled to California in time to be counted twice. Perhaps he had tried his hand at the gold fields, given up, and followed his sister-in-law's family to Chino Ranch. He could not possibly have returned to Illinois before

being counted by the California census taker in February, so he had an unpleasant surprise waiting for him, since his wife's third child was born in September. By 1862 the Ellege family had migrated with six children permanently to San Jose, California. Jane and John Lewis, of course, were Esther Ann's sister Martha Jane and brother-in-law. William Lewis was John's younger brother. John and William Lewis had been in the Ponca Indian camp with the Crismons the winter of 1846 as orphans living with an uncle's family. Their father Benjamin Lewis had been killed at Haun's Mill and their mother had died January 1846 during the exodus from Nauvoo.

No property value was listed in the census for Charles, so I assume he was renting from Isaac Williams. He was listed as a farmer and his name was spelled Christman. Their dwelling was two houses down from the ranch house of Williams, where lived 15 people counting Williams' three children, a doctor, carpenter, millwright, and two blacksmiths. In between was lodged a small U.S. garrison with a captain, a lieutenant, and 25 soldiers plus about ten women and children.[46]

In Salt Lake City that February the apostles Lyman and Rich were making good on their November call to colonize San Bernardino. On February 23, 1851 the call to San Bernardino was officially made. Word went out to halt English immigration in anticipation of the trans Panama route to San Bernardino, which was also to serve as gathering place for Pacific converts coming from Hawaii and beyond, anticipating that a warmer climate would suit them better.

Lyman and Rich looked to families that they already knew and trusted. Half were the "Mississippi Saints." Half were interrelated. Twelve were Mormon battalion members—12 more joined later. Twelve were slaves. Included in the party were another dozen missionaries bound for Sandwich Islands including Parley P. Pratt. Brigham Young was vexed and felt abandoned; he had planned for 20 men, but the wagon train assembled at Payson was much larger. There were 47 families of 437 people in 150 wagons. Jefferson Hunt was with them.[47]

On March 10, Amasa Lyman left Salt Lake with two wagons and picked up three more in Cottonwood. Charles C. Rich took his three youngest wives: Mary Ann, Emeline, and Harriette, each with one child. He had stayed behind with sick kids in his Salt Lake families, but caught up, leaving on the 16th. Ten year old Joseph, his oldest, was sad to see them go. He left wives in Salt Lake and Centerville.

On March 23, 1851, organized into camps of fifty and companies of ten, they left, reaching Parowan on April 8th and the Mojave River on May 30th.

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[46] In the 1850 census Isaac Williams was listed as 57 years old, owning 125 acres of improved property and 37,500 acres unimproved with a cash value of $10,000 with 300 horses, 30 asses or mules, 30 oxen and 4,000 cattle worth $44,350.

[47] Arrington, *Charles C. Rich*, p. 159

That June another noted visitor stayed with Esther Ann's family, this time at the Chino ranch. It was another Mormon apostle, Parley P. Pratt, on his way to San Francisco. He informed them that the first group of Mormons for which they had been preparing the way was just behind him, camping at the mouth of Cajon Pass ready to enter the San Bernardino Valley. Pratt recorded the encounter in his journal:

June 1st. Passing on our journey over one hundred miles, we came to a fine farm which had wheat and other grain gardens, and even bearing fruit trees, etc. We also found a member of our society by the name of Crismon, who with his family resided on the place. We were kindly received and after resting a few days...moved our camp to Brother Crismon's where we arrived at noon, and were received with welcome, and all rejoiced that our desert and toilsome journey was at an end.

With Elders Pratt, Amasa Lyman, Charles C. Rich, and the Hawaii missionaries, the party of nearly 500 Mormons had arrived from Utah expecting to purchase the Isaac Williams' ranch at Chino only to find that the owner had changed his mind. He had promised earlier to sell the ranch, but reconsidered when he realized that he was sitting right on a potential new highway for thousands of travelers. The Mormons were forced to camp until October in a sycamore grove on the edge of the valley, waiting for other arrangements to be made. Imagine the disappointment for the group, forced to wait in the grove longer there than it had taken them to travel from Utah. I think the Crismons were disappointed as well, having invested a year in setting up the Williams deal. Sometime in June, Charles Crismon and his family loaded up a wagonload of potatoes from his farm and transported them to the encampment of the waiting Saints. In July they were already organizing their community and called Charles Crismon to the High Council.

During this time Rich and Lyman investigated the entire area between the encampment and the Pacific coast looking for an alternative location for the camped Saints, eventually deciding that the best option was to try to purchase the Lugo Ranch, where present day San Bernardino is located. It was owned by Antonio Maria Lugo, the father of Williams' Mexican wife. Lugo had moved to the ranch in 1842 with his three sons and 6,000 cattle. In a letter to Brigham Young on July 30, they said they hoped to get the Lugo property for $50-60,000.

Pratt, Rich, and Lyman sailed by steamship to San Francisco hoping to raise money for a down payment and needed supplies. The total cash carried by the pioneers amounted to just $800. They had planned to raise the rest of the down payment for the Chino ranch by selling the livestock which would have been included in the failed deal.

Rich returned August 9th with supplies and reportedly with $8,000, part of which was to be used for additional supplies in Los Angeles, the balance for a down payment on the loan. He reported narrowly escaping thieves on the 70 mile road from San Pedro to San Bernardino. Lyman remained in San Francisco to raise more money before returning on August 24th. Some historical accounts have him, not Rich, bringing the down payment for the loan on the ranch. None mentions the role of George Sirrine in protecting the safety of

the money. Perhaps George only carried it on the ship for Rich, who carried it himself overland. I have found no independent source to prove this, but will share Warren LeRoy Sirrine's colorful version:

The Church of Jesus Christ had bought something over six thousand acres of land from an old rich Spanard by the name of Lugo and Charles Colston Rich and Ammasa Lyman was sent from Salt Lake City to San Francisco, Cal. to get the money to make the first payment on the land and George Sirrine was with them for several days in San Francisco while they were getting the money in Gold coins. And George noticed two men was in all the diferent places wheare they were making arrangements for the gold. When they got everything together George Sirrine was to take the sixteen thousand dollars in gold down to San Diego, Cal. and make the first payment on the land. So George put the money in a pair of old boots and put them in his tool chest. When he got on the boat he saw thease same two strangers that he had seen so many times in San Franciscco. Then he was satisfied they were after that money. So he pulled his big tool chest out on the deck and took the old boots out of his chest and went to cleaning them and oiling them and watching the two strangers all of the time. Finly they came over wheare he was and wanted to know wheare he was going. He told them that he was a mill right and would go down the coast and see if he could get some work to do. Well they stayed theare until he had taken everything out of his chest and cleaned them all up, and they went off to the other side of the boat and talked for some time and concluded that they were after the wrong man. So the first time the boat landed they left the boat and that was the last that he saw them. George took the money to old Lugo and made the first payment on the land OK. He helped to make the survey and layed off the town of San Bernadino.

I need to make a few observations here. First, the amount of the down payment was $7,000, not $16,000. It is hard to figure out how anyone could have hidden even that much gold in his boots, since at the going rate of $20 per ounce, it would have weighed 22 pounds. Maybe it was possible—especially if some of it was in the tool chest or divided among multiple carriers, but certainly not $16,000, which would have weighed an even 50 pounds. Still, there is probably some truth in this tale. And George certainly enjoyed a reputation for managing unruly characters. One problem--on September 1, 1851 Parley P. Pratt listed George Warren Sirrine in his diary as one who had contributed money for his planned mission to Chile. If he recorded it on the day it was donated, then George could not have traveled with either Rich or Lyman, since they were already in San Bernardino by then. I prefer to believe that Pratt was recording money that George had donated earlier—the story of the gold is simply too compelling for me to dismiss it as false.

The price for the Lugo Ranch ended up being $77,000. The interest was an astounding 30% per year with bi-yearly installments. The two apostles signed the note which made them personally liable. Jefferson Hunt's personal history claims that he arranged for the bank loan through his connections in Los Angeles and also gives a story of him avoiding robbers in bringing cash for the down payment.

On October 1, 1851 the Saints broke their three month long camp in the sycamore grove at the mouth of Cajon Canyon near present day Devore, and moved into the Lugo Ranch, building log dwellings, which they hastily pulled together to form a fort in response to an Indian uprising in November. Some lived in the fort for 2½ years.

By December, Amasa Lyman had gone to Los Angeles to draw up the deed, then to San Francisco to collect more money, and was still in San Francisco as late as January 1852. In February the San Bernardino Saints raised $16,000 by selling their animals, which enabled them to obtain the deed.

I am pretty sure that George Sirrine came to San Bernardino with Lyman when he brought the down payment. That is important for this story because it brought him and Esther Ann together again. I would love to know the details of their courtship. They likely met in San Francisco the previous March at the Mission Dolores, if not earlier. If Martha Jane's account is correct, they could have courted until the Crismons moved south at the beginning of 1851. It is possible that George began making his own trips to the Lugo Ranch as early as November of 1850. Putting a variety of sources together, GWS was mentioned during 1850 in San Francisco in April, that summer, and October. I have no proof of his location after that until he made the donation in San Francisco to support Elder Pratt's mission to Chile in late August of 1851, but he must have been in San Bernardino by September 22, when the Lugo Ranch was purchased, possibly right in the home of the Crismons in Chino. I do not know for sure when he returned to San Francisco after that. I suspect that he returned briefly that fall, but came back again early in 1852.

I am not sure just how George Sirrine managed to care for his little girl Sarah Ann during this time. The traditional family story is that George arranged to have a bereaved mother take care of Sarah Ann after Emeline died. This is his son Warren LeRoy's version:

Just about one year after George was married, Sarah Sirrine was born and when she was one year old her mother died. (She was at least two by then). *George was on a steamer going from Los Angeles to San Francisco, Cal and Sarah saw a lady she thought was her Mother and she started acrost the vessil calling the Lady "Ma Ma". So the lady met her in the middle of the boat and picked her up and carried her to her seat and petted her and cried over her. And when she got through crying, George went over wheare they were and the lady asked him if she was his child and he told her that she was. Then she asked him wheare her mother was. George told her that she was dead. Then the lady told him that she had just lost a little girl just her size and she wanted George to give the little girl to her and she had plenty of money and she would be a good mother to her....George said he couldn't think of giving the child away. Probably sometime he would want to get married again and when he did he would want to come and get the little girl, but he would pay her well to take care of her. She said you will never pay me a cent but I will take good care of her until you call for her.*

I believe that this story is basically true, but it seems to suggest that Sarah Ann was in foster care for multiple years beginning at age two. Assuming that Samuel Lane's two years in San Francisco ended in August, 1852, he last saw George (and presumably Sarah) 6-8

months before then. If so, Sarah Ann may have been in foster care for only a few months bridging her fifth birthday and her father's second marriage.

On February 12, 1852 Mary Polly Hill Crismon gave Esther Ann a new baby brother, John Franklin Crismon, Polly's 10th child. She was only 37 and would have two more in San Bernardino, both younger than Esther Ann's first.

If I am right about the time of Samuel Lane's arrival and he is correct in his estimates of GWS' absences from San Francisco, George was in San Bernardino most of the time during 1852. By March he was definitely in San Bernardino building his grist mill in an equal partnership with Charles C. Rich and Amasa Lyman, who financed it. Charles C. Rich left for Salt Lake March 24th with 14 men. Lyman and Hunt accompanied him as far as the Mojave Desert as an escort. The mill was completed by August 7. At the time it was the biggest grist mill in the state. They sold flour for $32 per barrel in Los Angeles.

On Independence Day, 1852, George Warren Sirrine married Esther Ann Crismon at Chino Ranch near San Bernardino. This was likely performed by his business partner, Amasa Lyman, in her father's home. George was 33 and Esther Ann was 15. Her mother had married at the same age. Her older sister Martha Jane had married at 16. I guess that growing up fast is just what Crismons did.

Chapter 12

California and Exodus

Under the leadership of Amasa Lyman and Charles C. Rich the San Bernardino settlement began to firmly establish itself. At stake conference on April 6, 1852 in the new bowery it was reported that there had been 81 converts to Mormonism. The day school in the Bowery had 125 students and two expert teachers.

Charles Crismon, Amasa Lyman, and Bishop Crosby proposed a road into the mountains via Hot Springs Canyon (now Waterman Canyon) to extract timber[48]. The road was built by 100 men in 10 days. Jefferson Hunt was the supervisor. Rich returned from a March trip to Utah on August 20 in only 22 days—the original settlers had taken 45—to find that the grist mill was in operation along with a sawmill in Twin Creek Canyon operated with a boiler and steam engine. It had been built by Charles Crismon, who had begun a lucrative business freighting hay, flour, and stock to Los Angeles. Jefferson Hunt won a mail contract from Los Angeles to Salt Lake City via San Bernardino. Toward the end of 1842 nine more San Francisco Mormon families immigrated to San Bernardino.

On February 6, 1853, Charles Crismon bought a 30 horsepower steam sawmill in San Francisco for $4,000 to bring to San Bernardino, which he had up and operating in Huston Flat that summer. Lyman and Rich more or less alternated taking trips to visit their Utah families, usually travelling faster each time on improving roads. A schoolhouse was built at the cost of $300. Jefferson Hunt was elected to the California Assembly. On April 26, 1853 his bill in the Assembly created San Bernardino County, the largest in area in the U.S. at 20,157 square miles.

In his journal on June 30, 1853, Lyman recorded, "*To day went with brs Rich and Sirrine to survey for mill race to the flouring mill...paid one thousand and 75 dollars to mr Ezra Chase for his intrest in the sawmill built by Morse, Bingham and Co.*"

Four days later on his parents' first anniversary, George Edward Sirrine was born.

Lyman's journal on July 14: "*Capt Lovell at Jurupa asked for assistance to arrest a band of robbers attacking a party of Mexicans fighting for two days. We raised 30 men.*"

In Amasa Lyman's journal for that period there were many mentions of the grist mill owned in three equal shares by Charles C. Rich, George Warren Sirrine, and himself. The mill race broke in late September, stopping production until November 7. The journal never explicitly states that there was personal trouble between George and the apostle, but there are hints. One was the constant attention Lyman paid to operations, although he was a financial partner with no knowledge or duty to actually run the mill. On another occasion he wrote that he "*...went to the grist mill with Brs. Rich, Sirrine, and Grundy to effect a*

[48] Edward Leo Lyman, *San Bernardino, The Rise and Fall of a California Community, (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996)* 74.

settlement." The following April 11th he wrote*, "myself and C.C.R. and families visited Br. Sirrine,"* and on June 22, 1854, *"today agreed with br. Edward Davis to run our flouring mill."* At first I thought this meant that he had bought George out by then. Probably not.

David Seeley

In 1853 Charles Crismon quarreled with stake president David Seeley.[49] Both owned saw mills and controlled adjacent timberlands. Lyman and Rich felt that Crismon was doing well for himself, but didn't help them much, and suspected that he was holding back tithing on his considerable income. Crismon was a party in three of the first five high council disputes, including one mentioned November 19th in Lyman's journal. It did not help that he was running a distillery attached to one of his sawmills.

A California-wide depression began in March of 1854, the only one in 20 years, caused by a glut of supplies and diminishing interest in gold. Three hundred of the 500 business buildings in San Francisco were vacant, greatly complicating repayment on the loans owed for the Lugo Ranch. Lyman and Rich made several trips to San Francisco to raise money, but there was no tithing to collect there. They had to settle for short term secondary loans with monthly interest of 3-10%. On one trip, the steamer carrying Rich lost power, nearly wrecking on a voyage from San Pedro.

On April 13th the City of San Bernardino was chartered. George Warren Sirrine was elected to the city council along with Charles C. Rich and four others. Amasa Lyman was mayor. That year a circuit judge who had visited the town reported a fine flour mill, 6 sawmills, a fine mansion for Lyman, and a population of 1,200 of which 900 were Mormons.

On July 16, the first polygamous marriage was performed in San Bernardino when Charles Crismon wedded the widow Mary G. Pearson. This was his first try at polygamy, but not his last. He would eventually marry five wives and sire 36 children.

On August of 1854 George Q. Cannon arrived in San Francisco on his way home from his mission to Hawaii. He was anxious to get home to Salt Lake, but had been temporarily engaged for $50 to help Parley Pratt with the San Francisco newspaper he had been sent by Brigham Young to run. It was a godsend for Elder Pratt, who was working on his autobiography with a view to having it published and he needed the time. Cannon was just the person to help, having learned the newspaper trade while standing in for his uncle John Taylor to run the *Times and Seasons* and *Nauvoo Neighbor*. But by September 23rd GQC had

[49] David Seeley was an important participant in the California story from the beginning. He was an early pioneer in the Salt Lake Valley having arrived in September, 1847 shortly before Crismons. He joined the expedition in 1849 via the southern route to the gold fields with Charles C. Rich and George Q. Cannon and returned to Salt Lake with Rich and Lyman in September of 1850. In 1851 he was with the San Bernardino saints as one of the trail captains and camped with them in the sycamores while the Lugo Ranch was purchased. He erected one of the first saw mills in San Bernardino and was elected one of the first commissioners of San Bernardino County. When the Saints were called back to Utah in 1857 his wife refused to go, so he went without her, but on the advice of Brigham Young returned to his family and lived the rest of his life in California.

embarked for San Pedro on a reduced fare for missionaries (from $45 to $25) which had been arranged by Amasa Lyman, who was himself visiting San Francisco. Cannon arrived in San Bernardino on a Sunday, just in time to hear C. C. Rich preaching in the "fine adobe tabernacle." There he gave his mission report that evening and stayed at the Rich's house. The two of them returned shortly after that to Utah, probably together. Rich was taking his wife Emeline back to Centerville. He spoke in the Salt Lake Tabernacle soon after he arrived and did not return to California for six months.

Esther Ann would be turning 17 on November 27, 1854, but three weeks before that she gave birth again, this time to twin boys whom she named Charles and Isaac after their two grandfathers. Both died the day they were born.

On January 30, 1855 Amasa Lyman wrote, *"Today had a conversation with Br. George Sirrine in relation to something that transpired on Sunday with which he was not pleased. Before leaving he became satisfied to some extent."*

In Salt Lake City on May 5, 1855 George Q. Cannon married Elizabeth Hoagland. He was 27 and she was 19. He had met her as an 11 year old girl when they crossed the plains together. Almost immediately he was called to return to San Francisco to assist Parley P. Pratt with the newspaper. George Q. and Elizabeth Cannon traveled to his new mission in San Francisco via San Bernardino with Charles C. and his 14 year oldest son Joseph Rich. Rich's diary mentions taking *"my Negro 'Dick'"* on the trip. According to his grandson Benjamin L. Rich, Charles C. brought *"three pairs of slaves, freed them in California, where slavery was illegal."* They reached San Bernardino in June, then Cannon boarded a steamer at San Pedro leaving Rich behind, and arrived June 24 only to find that Pratt had already headed for the valley. He caught him 50 miles away across the bay at Union City. There he learned from the disappointed Pratt that prospects were not bright in that country for the press or anything else. The printing press had been stored in San Francisco after PPP had paid $100 in tithing money to transport it from the islands. After giving an account of the church in Northern California, Oregon, Washington, and the British and Russian possessions in the north, Pratt left. Cannon had been called to replace him as mission president.

Wasting no time, by July 21, 1855 GQC had, with Amasa Lyman's support, called 75 elders from San Bernardino on missions throughout California. Lyman joined him in San Francisco, noting on September 30 that he preached two hours, Rich spoke, and GQC was sustained as president of the mission.

According to the Arrington history, Charles C. Rich settled accounts with George Warren Sirrine on December 30, 1855—I assume this refers to the grist mill partnership. This seems to confirm the following account of the break-up written years later by George's ever dramatic son Warren LeRoy, whose version contrasts markedly with the paucity of Lyman's journal. Predictably, Warren LeRoy puts himself right in the middle of the issue, though only a neonate at the time:

When I was born I only weighed l6#. And when I was six months old I weighed forty eight lbs. I was born out in the old fort and when G.W.S. came in to the mill to work, he told Amasa Lyman and Charles Colson Rich that he had a fine boy that had just come to town and that he weighed l6#. Amasa Lyman spoke up and said very likely he will weigh it providing you will have plenty of clothes on him. George said no he don't need any clothes on to weigh it. Well Amasa Lyman said Charles C. Rich and I will go up tonight and strip the young man down and see just what he weighs. Well he weighed the 16# O.K. Uncle Charles C. Rich had quite a laugh over the 16# boy and one of Amasa Lyman's wives was there with a babe that was several months old and it only weighed about 1/3 as much as the new babe (this would be Ira Depo Lyman, who was 8 months old at the time). *And Charles C. Rich was laughing about it and Amasa Lyman spoke up and he said Uncle Charles you want to remember that good things are always done up in small parcils. Then G.W.S.* (who was wiry but small in stature) *stepped up by the side of Amasa Lyman and said Uncle Charles you heard what Brother Amasa said about good things being done up in small parcils. Now Uncle Charles you will know how to judge between Brother Amasa and me. And it made Amasa Lyman so mad that he wouldn't speak any more. George Sirrine said he would not of done it for anything if he had of thought it would of made him mad.*

The next morning when he went to the mill to work he spoke to them but Amasa just grunted. But George went right to work and did almost as much work as both of them. Well it went on for several days and Amasa Lyman would never speak just answer when he was spoken to. Finely they had a Directors meeting and when it was through G.W.S. told Amasa Lyman who was secratary and Treasure that he would like to get $75.00 in cash. Amasa looked at the books and said theare is not that much coming to you. G.W.S. said Amasa there is two or three times that much coming to me. Well the books don't show it. Turn to my account Amasa and after looking at the books a few minutes he said there is the trouble. Amasa you have charged this merchandise to me instead of giving my account credit for it. I sold that new wagon of mine for $24.00 and took it in wheat, barley and corn. Now Amasa take that blotter and give my account credit by an error and when it comes through the book it will be all right. Amasa said I will tend to it when I get readdy and shut the books up. G.W.S. looked at him for a minute then he said Amasa theare is never a better time than right now to straighten the book and if you don't straighten it now I will knock you clear through the side of that house. At that Uncle Charles C. Rich took hold of G.W. Sirrine's arm. But George straightened his arm out and Charles C. Rich went acrost the flour (sic). *George said Uncle Charles don't touch me for I know what I am going to do and if Amasa don't straighten up that account I will see how hard I can hit him. Then Uncle Charles said Amasa you straighten that account right now. Well he straightened the book right then.*

George worked for several days and then he told Lyman and Rich that his intrest in the mill was for sale and that he had a buyer for it. But he was going to give them the first

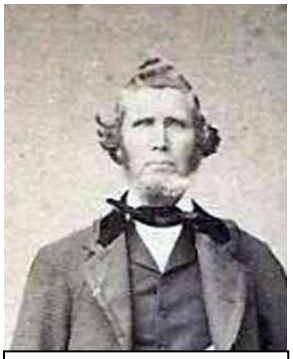
chance. All right they said they would take his interest so they paid him $11,000 (eleven thousand dollars) for his interest. Then he moved down to San Diego.

Esther Ann with George and Warren LeRoy

This yarn fits perfectly with the facts that we can verify. The buy-out price of $11,000 is probably correct and the dissolution of the partnership likely happened soon after Warren LeRoy's birthday, which was December 23, 1855. And he was more or less correct about the age of Lyman's youngest son, who was born in San Bernardino.

Although Warren LeRoy contributes a colorful version of the San Diego story, there has been very little else written about it. I'll give you the facts that I know first, and then let him tell it.

According to Edward Leo Lyman in his excellent history of San Bernardino, one of the missionaries returning from Hawaii who had served with George Q. Cannon was a former Mormon Battalion member named Ephraim Green. A fellow battalion member who had served with Green in Hawaii convinced him to investigate a vein of coal he had seen in 1846 at the end of their service in the Mexican War. I suspect this was Nathan Tanner, who had served in both places with him. Nathan's sister, Louisa Maria Tanner, was one of the three wives brought by Amasa Lyman to San Bernardino. Their step-mother and younger half-brother Seth Tanner were living in San Bernardino with the Lyman family.



Ephraim Green

Green, who was 48 years old, formed a mining company with George Warren Sirrine, then 37, Seth Tanner, who was unmarried at age 29 and living with his mother, and Harvey C. Ladd, a 38 year old widower with three small children, to claim and develop the mine. Ladd[50] was a lapsed Mormon, who was raising tobacco. Their claim was on the outer bay peninsula about two miles north of Point Loma. The coal tested out at high quality, so most of George's money was invested in the venture. Charles C. Rich knew about the project and was optimistic about it. He wrote to Brigham Young in the summer of 1856 that, *"...if the coal proves as good as we expect...we think it will open the way to liberate us,"* hoping that it would lead to payment of the debt for the Lugo Ranch. According to Lyman's book, the partners seemed to take all the right steps, including consulting with a collier from Utah, Arthur Parks, who had run the coal operation in Cedar City before moving to San Bernardino. Unfortunately, the coal veins led below the seawater line, and despite investing in an expensive steam pump the mine could not be made productive.

[50]Ladd stayed in San Bernardino when the Mormons were recalled to Salt Lake City, and eventually joined the RLDS church.

George and Esther Ann went to San Diego with four boys. George was two and a half and Warren LeRoy was a newborn. They also had two adopted sons.[51] Theodore was 14, and Parley was 11.

Here's Warren LeRoy's version of the San Diego story.

...and (he) *started sinking for coal as the government had offered several hundred thousand dollars for any one that would discover coal in paying quantities. He got an old English collier with a spring pole and a drill and began drilling at Point Loma, just a few miles from San Diego as George had seen while runing as a Pilot from San Francisco when the tide was low he had seen several stratas of coal. Well the old Collier went through several strattas of coal and they kept getting larger as they went down. Finely they came to a stratta that was about 30 (thirty) inches thick that would pay well to work. Then he took 3 or 4 men in with him as pardners. They had no money to put in to it but they put thear work in and if it began to pay then G.W.S. was to get all of his money that he had put in to it and then they all would share equal in the proffits. So they went back on the mesa several hundred feet and began sinking a shaft six by eight and went up to San Francisco and bought a big boiler and engine and they put on two shifts and worked night and day and they had went down about 185 feet* (it was actually about 65') *and had went through several strattas of coal and had got nearly to the big stratta when they broke the drill off in the bottom of the shaft and George Sirrine's $11,000.00 was all gone and the company owed an old rich Jue $2200.00 (twenty two hundred dollars).*

That was about the time of the Mountain Meddow Masacre in Southern Utah and of course all of the Mormons were implicated in the masacre. But George Sirrine knew that Brigham Young had nothing to do with it. Well he knew that if he stayed there he would get into trouble, so he went to the old "Jue" and told him if he would receipt the bill in full he would give him a quit claim deed to a quarter section of ground that took in the Bay of San Diego. So he receipted the bill in full and G.W.S was broke again. But he had a wife and four orphan children and two of his and Mother's children. So he went back to San Bernadino.

During the two years that George and Esther Ann were away, plenty was happening in San Bernardino.

In October Lyman had gone home to Utah to conduct a preaching tour throughout the territory, planning to stay in the Valley for a year. That winter in San Bernardino there was a religious retrenchment in response to political opposition. Five hundred people renewed their baptismal covenant.

In January 1856 Charles C. Rich announced plans for a future mission to England, hoping to leave in a few months. It ended up being delayed over a year until April 18, 1857 for various reasons.

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[51] See page 21.

On January 29, 1856 a baby boy was born to Elizabeth and George Q. Cannon in San Francisco, whom they named George Quayle after his father. He only lived 10 months.

During 1856 apostates joined with the non-Mormon minority to mount an unsuccessful, but uncomfortable political takeover of city government in San Bernardino.

By February 1856, Cannon had gotten the printing press out of moth balls and established the *Western Standard*, a weekly newspaper in San Francisco. He also published the first Hawaiian translation of the Book of Mormon.

That was the year in which George Crismon opened his distillery at the lumber mill. There were serious irrigation disputes. It was discovered that in part due to translation issues, the Mormons did not have clear title on ½ of their acreage. The court ruled against them, but allowed them to select the acres that they desired.

That August, Esther Ann's mother Mary Crismon gave her another brother named Walter Scott. He was her last child at age 41, her twelfth.

In December the Los Angeles newspaper *Western Standard* reported that Charles Crismon had a saw mill in San Bernardino and a planing and sash machine. Also in the same locality was a steam distillery owned by Charles Crismon that was now in operation.

On April 18, 1857 the apostles Lyman and Rich left San Bernardino in response to their mission call to Europe. They took Joseph H. Ridges[52] with them, an Australian convert who had built a pipe organ as a hobby and carried it with him in soldered cases to S.L.C., where he eventually built the famous tabernacle organ. They arrived in Salt Lake on June 3rd.

In July, 1857 the "Utah War" began, followed by the Mountain Meadows massacre in September. News of the latter agitated the California neighbors, who didn't believe the story that Indians did it and began to raise a 500 man expedition to rescue the Missouri party. The Mormons feared it would be turned against them in San Bernardino, according to Stake President William Cox. On October 30 Brigham Young recalled the Mormon colonies to Utah. President Cox announced a return to Salt Lake *"as soon as possible in wisdom."* On December 3, 1857 George Q. Cannon left San Francisco via San Bernardino.

George Warren Sirrine and his family had been in San Diego developing the mine for about two years. For the remainder of his time in San Bernardino he worked for his father-in-law, Charles Crismon, in his brewery. There's an entertaining version of that, too, which I can't resist including:

When G.W.S. got back to San Bernardino Charles C. Crismon was runing a distillery and George went all through the Distillery and then he told Charles Crismon that the man that was running the distill was not making only one half of the liquor that he should make. He wanted to know what he knew about it. And George told him he had run a distillery in N.Y.C. and if he would let him make a run and if he did not make double the amount that the other

[52] Arrington, *Charles C. Rich,* 205.

man was making it would not cost him anything. O.K. he said and if you can I will give you half you can make. So he went and made a big batch of yeast and got a few sack of slacked lime and sweetened up all of the vats. And Charles Crisman weighed him out the same amount of malt as he had been giving the other man. Well when he made his run he had made just double the amount that the other man had made. Then Charles Crisman said George the job is yours. George done 3 men's work and lost l# a day for 18 days. But he had done pretty well. He had made from $50 to $75 per day. Then Charles Crisman wanted to know what he would work for by the day. George told him why not go along as they were. Well he said you are making too much money. Well George said haven't you been making about twice as much as you did with the other man. Well, he said that has nothing to do with it. You can aford to work for a whole lot less money. Well George told him to get the other man he was through. But George had made enough to buy four good mules, two new sets of harness, a new wagon and outfit to last him to S.L.C.

In February 1858, A. Osborne Esq., a botanist, arrived at San Bernardino from New York by steamer offering a liberal sum to anyone who could get him to Salt Lake City in 15 days. Upon arrival in Utah he dropped his disguise in the presence of Brigham Young to reveal he was Col. Thomas L. Kane, the friend of the Mormons, come to help settle the "Utah War." Ebenezer Hanks, the attorney of Lyman and Rich, sold off all their properties in San Bernardino to pay off the remainder of the loan on the Lugo Ranch. The Mormons began to leave California, about as poor as they had come. But not the Crismons.

In March the Crismon family began their return to the Valley with 300 mules, 2,000 sheep and cattle, and the first beehives in Utah. George Warren and Esther Ann Sirrine traveled with them bringing their children George Edward, Warren LeRoy, and Theodore. Parley did not go. The 1860 census shows that he was living with his sister Helen, still in San Bernardino.[53] When they departed Esther Ann was pregnant with her first girl, who was born in Parowan on the way to Salt Lake. They named her Emeline after George's first wife. For their history from this point refer to chapter three.

Charles Crismon built a very large house where the Salt Palace Convention Center now stands in the original Salt Lake 14th ward in which seven apostles lived. One of his sons took over the home he had built in Sugar House. He built several mills in the Salt Lake valley and created a freighting business from Salt Lake City to Los Angeles and to San Francisco, also to Omaha, through which he controlled the mule market, using 500 mules in a single freight wagon train. According to Orson Whitney, Crismon introduced the concept of seasonal sheep grazing in Utah desert and mountains. His herds were the basis of many later Utah sheep herds. By some accounts, Charles Crismon became the wealthiest man in Salt Lake City. On May 10, 1862 at age 56 he took the unusual step of marrying two women on the same day, fifteen year old Ellen Wilcox and 19 year old Louise Kirstine Bischoff, who

[53] By 1870 Parley was 24 years old and living with his brother Theodore and his wife Laura in Montpelier, Idaho. They traveled together in the pioneer group that colonized Mesa in 1877 and lived together there until at least 1900. In 1910 Theodore had moved to Union, Oregon. Parley was 64 and living with the family of Sarah Radell, George's older step sister, but he returned to Oregon in 1914 where he died in 1918. He never married.

were to bear him ten and twelve children, respectively. Five years later he married a fifth wife, Christina Amelia Hessell, age 15 and fresh from Sweden, who bore him a single daughter before divorcing him and marrying Joseph Rees, with whom she had twelve more children.

On September 9, 1858 George Q. Cannon was appointed to go on a mission to the east. By November he was meeting with Colonel Thomas Kane in Philadelphia. He returned from that mission in time to join Rich and Lyman in England in 1860.

The apostles Charles C. Rich and Amasa Lyman did not go immediately to head the European mission as planned, but remained in Utah until April 6, 1860, when Rich wrote in his journal:

I met with the authorities of the Church and Saints in conference in the Tabernacle Great Salt Lake City Utah Territory. Br A. Lyman and myself was appointed on a mission to England and to Preside over the European mission. Our sons Frances M. Lyman and Joseph C. Rich was appointed to accompany us. Also between forty and fifty other Elders.[54]

Amasa Lyman was senior. Together their duties included overseeing "Europe, Asia, Africa or the Islands of the Sea, according to the dictates of the Holy Spirit...and the First Presidency of the Church." GQC was to preside over the office in Liverpool. Lyman was a great orator, Rich was known as a righteous, practical conciliator, and Cannon a clear and forceful writer.

[54] Arrington, *Charles C. Rich,* p. 226.

Part III: Proselytes, Pioneers, and Polygamy

Chapter 13

James Oakey and Mary Cooper

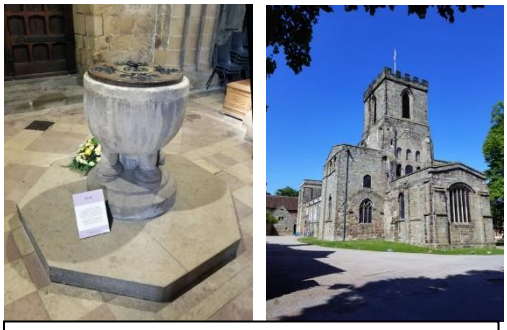
As college students George Whitefield and the Wesley brothers, John and Charles, had formed the "Holy Club" at Pembroke College in Oxford, which eventually led to the birth of Methodism in England and the "Great Awakening" in America in 1740. During the 1740's they made visits to Selena, the Countess of Huntingdon at Donington Park. Whitefield, who had preached impressively to Benjamin Franklin, became her chaplain. Through his influence, one of her servants became a "missionary of good tidings" preaching to the surrounding villages. The closest of these was Melbourne, Derbyshire, where converts held services and meetings in cottages until a small chapel was erected on their Ladyship's estate in Penn Lane in 1768, which continued as an Independent Chapel until 1871.

James Oakey was born in Melbourne in 1817. He and his brother William were two years apart in age, middle children with two older and two younger sisters. Though James was two years younger than William, he was the one to receive his father's name. James and both his parents eventually joined the Mormon Church, while Will tried the rest of his life to rescue them and bring them back to his own fervent beliefs.

The family had belonged to the Independent Chapel in Penn Lane in Melbourne. James' father was the oldest of 11 children. I have found no christening records for him or his first three siblings, Ann, Mary, and William, but every one of the next seven was duly christened at that church, suggesting a possible conversion of his parents, Joseph and Elizabeth Oakey to the Independent (Congregationalist) Church at around 1796. When James Sr. was 20 he married Catherine Allen, a woman six years his senior with a two year old son named John. She had married a man named John Curzon five years earlier in the neighboring town Castle Donington. Family genealogists have assumed she was a young widow, but I could find no evidence of Curzon's death during that period. He appears to have married a second woman whose name was Mary with whom he had at least two more children and lived in Upton, Nottinghamshire until he died at age 86.

James' mother Catherine was an interesting character. I don't know much about her childhood except that she was given the name of an older sister, who had died about when Catherine was born, and the significant fact that she lost her mother when she was only three. When Catherine married James, she started out where her mother-in-law had left off, baptizing her own kids at the Independent Chapel, though in bunches, and sometimes belatedly. Their first child Mary was christened approximately on schedule at four months of age on the same day as four year old John Curzon and James' baby sister Lydia. James and Catherine's next three, Kitty, Will, and James, also received the rite on the very same day along with their cousins Mary and Jane Lakin and Sidney Pickering, pretty much filling up a page in the chapel's log book. Then Catherine made an about face and had herself baptized as a 35 year old adult at the mainstream Church of England in Melbourne, the then 700 year old Norman St. Michael Church. Interestingly, she had already been baptized as

an infant on December 15, 1784. Her second baptism as an adult must have been a deliberate renunciation of the Oakeys' dissenting church. I wonder how that went down with the Oakey in-laws. Then a year later Catherine had the caboose child Betsey (Elizabeth) christened an Anglican as well.



St. Michael Church and baptismal font

Her stepson John Curzon was evidently raised with the Oakey children, although I have not found his name mentioned in any of the Oakey letters or Tom's journal. He ended up marrying a girl named Charlotte Key in Duffield in 1841, had five children, and was working as a framework knitter in Radford, a suburb of Nottingham, in 1862 when the Oakey family emigrated, so he must have been in contact with his mother Catherine. John was 10 years older than his step brother James Oakey.

Having endured the Luddite[55] raids in Melbourne to destroy knitting machines while his children were all young, James Sr. was a stocking maker and framework knitter, who came to Nottingham between 1822 and 1834 during a time when Nottingham was growing wildly[56] due to the expansion of the lace industry. The family moved the 20 miles up the Trent River sometime between the death of the Oakey grandparents when James (Jr.) was 12, and when he signed up as a lacemaking apprentice when he was 17. They settled into a nice house at Prospect Place, a little outside Nottingham on the edge of Lenton, which was a few years later to become a part of Nottingham when the Enclosure Acts began to free up farmland to allow the severely overcrowded city to expand.

Possessing the actual document, I know that the apprenticeship was executed "on the eighth day of February in the fourth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord William the Fourth by the Grace of God" in the year 1834, to John Dearman Dunnicliffe, of Hyson Green, County of Nottingham, lacemaker for a term of five years for the consideration of the sum of one penny in exchange for teaching the art of lacemaking and providing "meat, drink, washing, wearing apparel, lodging, and all other necessities during said term." And with that James grew up and left home—for a time.

Little is known about the family during that period of James' life. During his apprenticeship slavery was abolished in the British Empire, Mexico won the siege of the Alamo and lost the battle of San Jacinto, giving Texas independence, Andrew Jackson's presidency was followed by the financial panic of 1837 and the crash of the Kirtland Safety Society, Queen Victoria was crowned at age 18, the Cherokee Indians were driven along the Trail of Tears into Missouri, and Joseph Smith was incarcerated at Liberty Jail.

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[55] Luddites were a terrorist group of textile workers who destroyed automated stocking frames and knitting machines because they threatened jobs. The movement began in 1811 in Arnold, Nottinghamshire, only 25 miles from Melbourne.

[56] By 1834 the town reached 50,000 population, five times that of 1750, but within the same boundaries.

The apprenticeship ended February 8, 1839. I assume that James continued work as a master lacemaker for Mr. Dunnicliffe for a while longer. On January 6, 1840 he married and moved back in with his parents at Prospect Place. All his siblings had already married by this time except Betsy, who at age 18 may have still been living at home.

Mary Cooper Oakey

His bride was Mary Cooper, who had been born around 1812, only a few years before Queen Victoria's birth, in an ancient village 10 miles northeast of Nottingham called Old Brinsley, to Matthew Cooper and Mary Burrows. When her mother died her father re-married seven months later, so she and her three surviving siblings were raised from the time she was six by a stepmother. An older sister named Elizabeth had died in infancy. The new mother, Ann Smith, bore seven step-siblings of whom at least three died as infants while Mary C was living at home. Mary C's step-sister Selina was mentioned in several of the Oakey letters.

Mary C was about 27 years old when she married James on January 6, 1840. As a wedding gift he gave her a black lace shawl he had made, which she brought to America. It remained with the family until it was donated to BYU. Black was the fashion of the time, not a commemoration of Prince Albert's death as the family legend would have it, since Albert did not die until 1861.

Mary Cooper had their first child, Thomas, six months later.

Chapter 14

The Lace Maker of Nottingham

21 Herbert

Tuesday Oct 24 (1916)

Dear Brs and Sister

We got your welcome letter yesterday. Well I been spending my spare time looking for that journal Book since last Sunday. I found it up stairs in the Barn Among Some Old Books and Papers that looked like Rubbish and I ges it was a god job for Nobody had Botherd them for years and you Bet I was glad to find it. It Starts 1840 up to 1857 and stops. So I am Now looking for Some Papers to make it Conect further on and it will interest you to Read when you come. It gives evrey think very Plane and Seams to Be Very Corect as far as I can Rember. There is 65 pages and I commenced to write it from the others Books Aug 15, 1861. But I dident get that far.

My Gran Father James Oakey was the son of Joseph Oakey and He was the Son of Joseph Oakey Babtised June 24 1850. I found the first Letter that my Father sent us in Kays Ward and I think we can find somethink. My Granmother was Baptised May 21, 1851 by W. Brewerton confirmed May 21 1851 by Eld John Wigley...

all Well Thos Oakey

Throughout my life I kept a flat box under my bed, the kind made of that white, shiny cardboard you bring home from a clothing store with a new overcoat or bulky parka. Through many decades I threw into it the mimeographed family group sheets, pedigree charts, and stories collected at family reunions and given as Christmas gifts from my mother and her sister Mary Ida, the family genealogist. It had resided under every bed I owned since college. The first week of my retirement I finally dragged it out, now overstuffed, splitting at the corners, and filled with dust bunnies for serious attention. Among its contents was a copy of a typed transcription of the very journal that Tom described in the above letter, having found it at a similar time in his own life.

I do not know who made the transcription, which must have been a prodigious labor, given Tom's cryptic handwriting, nor where most of the original journal now resides. It was mentioned in a much later transcription of my Grandmother Ream's memories of her mother Sarah Oakey, Tom's baby sister:

He (Tom) *kept a diary and we have it but some of it was torn and thrown away when the house was rented and someone broke in the trunk.*

Among the Oakey letters given to me by my mother were six precious original pages of Tom's journal, recording parts of the pioneer trek comprising one page written in

Liverpool, three pages recording the initial days on the pioneer trail, and two ending with this dramatic passage recording the last day of their trek to Utah:

Oct 1 Before day Break we where called up and Before Breakfast. The cattle whire in and we had to hurry to get all in to line. We had to go about 12 miles Before we Reached the City. I and Ann walked to gather and when we came out of the Mountain we saw the City wich we had traveled 8000 miles to Reach and we got into the city at noon and fixed Our tent on Public Square.

These six precious original pages are now housed with the Oakey letter collection at the BYU Library in a protected collection of pioneer papers. It was late in the process of writing this book when I came across the above letter from Sarah's brother Tom. I was probably as excited to find it as Tom had been to find the journal. It seems to indicate that the journal may never have existed as a single volume, but rather a collection of papers and groups of pages. Among my mother's Oakey letters I found two fragments the size of post-it notes recording parts of a single day in Florence, Nebraska scrawled in pencil, which correspond to an entry in the transcription I found under my bed. There are gaps of several years in the transcription, some with notations that only the "important" pages were being transcribed. Tom may have lost some pages as well. But incomplete or not, what we have of the journal is the heart of the next two chapters and was helpful in writing others.

The year was not noted in Tom's letter, but there were only three years during that period in which October 24th fell on a Tuesday. It was probably written in 1916 when he was 76 years old and demonstrating great interest in his family's history. He had meant to return to England five years before, but did not because he had been unable to convince his wife Ann to go and was reluctant to leave her behind. He probably hunted up the journal at the urging of Sarah.

Here is the story as told by Tom.

1843 We went to live in the 1st house in Lenton Row in Hyson Green... It was a large nice house with a yard and a large garden and a square gras plot and a lylac tree in the middle on which I used to play. This is where I spent the Happy hours of my childhood—from the first page of Thomas Oakey's journal.

A map of the time shows a half mile long footpath past the Nottingham Castle on a beeline heading slightly south of westward to the village of Old Lenton. I suspect that where that path reached the eastern border of the village was the very spot for Grandfather Oakey's house at Prospect Place. The Nottingham Enclosure Act two years later opened a building explosion of medium priced cottages that soon filled all the area between the medieval garden town of Nottingham and the surrounding villages of Lenton, Radford, Hyson Green, Sneinton and others. A competition for design of the middle class buildings produced this

Nottingham laborer's cottage 1845

drawing of a neat little cottage allowing for a modest front garden and back yard similar to Tom's description. The stocking knitting industry had moved from homes to factories in the previous fifty years beginning this move to urbanization, priming the larger development of the lace industry catalyzed by Nottingham's location on the navigable portion of the Trent River and the development of the Midland Railway. The Act allowed the slums of the horribly overcrowded enclosed city to be relieved and opened up clear areas for lace factories to be built. The house in Lenton Row was adjacent to the lace factory where James, now a master lacemaker, worked about a half hour walk due north to Hyson Green.

The owner of the factory was Thomas Billeald, who made a name and a fortune for his family in the lace industry. The British Archives and the archives of *Mechanics Magazine* record several patents in his name and useful innovations during that period and it is known that he trained multiple apprentices at a time. Two of his sons managed his lace warehouses and another went on be a noted professional cricket player.

It was in that house that Tom's sister Mary was born. The next year was 1844, the year of Joseph and Hyrum Smith's martyrdom. There was violence in Nottingham as well. That summer William Savile was publicly executed in front of the jail on High Pavement Street after the highly publicized murder of his wife and children in Colwick Woods. Afterwards there was a panic among the crowd of observers and twenty-nine were killed and fifty more injured in a rush down Garner's hill. In 1845 Lucy Oakey was born and in the fall Thomas entered school at age five under a man named Badley, appropriately named it seems, as Tom described him as a very strict master. It must have been bearable; Tom was still in Badley's school four years later and had recorded field trips such as turning out with his classmates to carry flags to the city elections and with 10,000 others to witness a balloon ascent that reached 370 feet around the time his younger brother Jim was born in 1847. In keeping with his own experience, James passed his name on to this second son. In the following generation the name went to a second son as well, an interesting practice seemingly invented to confound genealogists.

According to Tom, his father took him in 1847 to Anglican Church services, evidently leaving Mary C home with the younger children. Though baptized in the Congregationalist Independent Church, James seems to have been influenced by his mother Catherine's defection back to the Church of England. There is also a possibility that his motive for converting was economic. Relief programs for the unemployed were run by the Anglican Church, not the government. The great potato famine happened that year, and business was lagging everywhere. At the end of the year, evidently laid off from his job at the Billeald lace factory, James took off for Yorkshire with Mary C's brother-in-law Thomas Clark, a hawker, selling Nottingham made hosiery goods, possibly produced by his father

James Sr. Tom and Sarah Clark, Mary C's sister, were living with their three small children in Hucknall, where his parents lived just a few miles from the Coopers in Brinsley. I suppose the salesmen were headed to Honley, where they could be based at the home of Ann Cooper Jaggar, Mary C's oldest sister, who had been living in Yorkshire since her marriage 24 years earlier.

Ann Cooper Jaggar

In October of 1847 James' future second wife, Ann Carson, was baptized into the Mormon Church, and had possibly moved to Nottingham to work in the lace industry, though not likely in Hyson Green.

At the end of the sales trip and still out of work as a lace weaver James moved back in with his parents at Prospect Place along with his wife and four kids. It was there that James first heard of Mormonism from an Elder Lees preaching in a room by their house. Tom wrote, "...and I sued to go with him." There is no record of a full time missionary named Lees at that time in the British Mission. However, a 47 year old cotton twiner named John Lees was baptized on June 16, 1848 in Ashton-Under-Lyne about 75 miles northwest of Nottingham. It is possible, though I can find no positive evidence for it that he had been sent out as a "traveling elder" from his home to preach the word. That seems pretty soon after his baptism, but going on a mission with no background was not unknown at the time. For example, Amasa Lyman hit the road after about six weeks. John Lees eventually took his family to Utah in 1853, settled in Salt Lake, his daughter Susannah becoming the matriarch of the Blackham family in Moroni, Utah. He did not succeed in baptizing James or Tom.

With work still scarce, James had to scramble. Tom wrote, "My father went to work for a man by the name of Hallrioad, and Mr. Keen in a twist machine at Basford." There were three men living in the area with names similar to Tom's spelling of Hallrioad--William, Elijah, and Elliot Halroyd. The former was a cabinet maker and the latter were both wood turners. Given James' later work in Paris, Idaho making furniture, I believe that James may have worked with Elijah or Elliot. William Wallis Keen was registered as a "machine holder and lacemaker" in a Nottingham directory of the time. This may be where James found work on a twist machine. Evidently the work was far enough away from Prospect Place to require a temporary move to Basford because Tom mentions that they returned to his grandparents' house in 1849, where Alfred was born and James could return to his trade of lace weaving. He either commuted or moved himself to Mansfield Road, a developing area on the north end of Nottingham to work at "Whild's factory." That summer James' entire family moved there. Tom got a job winding brass bobbins at Wm. Hawton and Butler, Mansfield Road.

Franklin D. Richards came to Nottingham to speak in the Assembly Room downtown in 1850. He was a relatively new LDS apostle, having been ordained along with Charles C. Rich, Erastus and Lorenzo Snow when the first presidency was reorganized on February

12, 1849 upon the excommunication of Lyman Wight. Elder Richards was serving as President of the European Mission, editor of the *Millennial Star*, and administrator of the Perpetual Immigration Fund. The Assembly Room was probably necessary to hold the crowd that turned out for the apostle's talk, but in 1850 the Mansfield Road area on the north of Nottingham had become the center for church activities for the district. The Mormons were using the little Saint Ann's Street Chapel for meetings, Sunday school, and social events. It is not clear whether they had purchased or rented it. The chapel was built by the Wesleyan Methodists in 1824, but had been rendered unnecessary to them in 1847 by the completion of a new church on Halifax Place capable of seating 1,600.

On February 10, 1850, a Sunday, James Oakey was baptized a Mormon by Elder William Brewerton. Although the location was not documented, the ordinance was probably performed in the nearby Trent River. Brewerton had joined the church in Harworth, Yorkshire in 1844 and was made a traveling elder to Sheffield and Nottinghamshire the same year. After his service in Nottingham he was transferred to preside over the Edinburgh conference in 1851, but was released to emigrate in 1854.[57] From Tom's journal:

February 17-- Sunday Father took me and Mary and Lucy and James and had us blessed by Eld. Wigley in Saint Anns Chapel in the afternoon. After this we went to the Latter Day Saints School in Saint Ann Street Chapel on Sundays.

Brother Brewerton baptized Mary C a month later followed by the baptisms of James Oakey Sr. in June and Tom in September, the first step toward a radically different direction in the Oakeys' lives.

In October Mary C's oldest sister Ann Jaggar and her daughter Eliza visited them from Honley Moor in Yorkshire, visiting an LDS tea party with Mary C and James in St. Ann's Street chapel and the Goose Fair. The fair is a famous annual celebration which got its start and its name in the year 1284 when thousands of geese were driven from Lincolnshire for sale in Nottingham, but had evolved into a great three day trade event in Old Market Square at the center of the city. After more than 700 years it continues to this day, having been interrupted but three times: first for the bubonic plague in 1646 and then for the two world wars, but now the main attraction is carnival rides. Held early every year in October, I wonder how it was impacted by the hurricane that Tom reported on October 7, 1850, which killed two people and lifted the roof off Benot Market Hill.

Although the family remained for a time longer on Mansfield Road, James left Whilds to work for Mr. Thomas Roberts and Son on Plumptre Street in Hollowstone, just east of St. Mary's Church in what is now called the lace district. This was probably James' first opportunity to work on a Jacquard lace machine.[58] The family was still living near

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[57] See pages 209, 210.

[58] The Jacquard machine is not a loom, but an attachment to a powered lace machine that automates the production of patterns, allowing almost unlimited varieties of fine lace in quantity. Invented in France by Joseph

Mansfield Road when Mary C's fifth child, Joseph Oakey, was born on April 9th, the same month that one of the twelve apostles spoke at St. Ann's Street Chapel. I believe that it was John Taylor, visiting England during his mission presidency in France. Tom noted in his diary that a brother Clayton had been possessed in the meeting while the apostle was speaking.

On New Year's Day, 1852 Nottingham was organized into a conference with missionary Henry Savage of London appointed to preside. James Oakey was ordained an elder. At the end of January a young Mormon priest who was acquainted with Tom drowned in the Trent River while trying to baptize a young woman and his body was not found for six weeks. Tom got a summer job attending the gentlemen at the bowling green on the edge of the arboretum. In October Tom got a job tending the warpers at Thomas Herbert's new steam driven lace factory at 3 shillings a week. James had gone there to work as well, but did not like the place and left after a day or two. In December the family moved once again to Grandfather Oakey's house at Prospect Place, this time because Grandmother Catherine was ill. In February of 1853 James was appointed president of the Hyson Green Branch by President Savage.

They only stayed with Grandma and Grandpa Oakey four months this time, and then moved into a shop in "Low Hollond Yard" vacated by a Brother Johnson, who was emigrating. This would have made it much more convenient for James to preside over the Hyson Green Branch. Presumably the Oakeys took over operations of the shop, but I could not determine the type of shop nor identify Brother Johnson among the twenty Johnsons who crossed the plains in 1853. Holland (or Hollond) Yard no longer exists. There is a Holland Street in Hyson Green not far from Forest Road, where the family moved in November, so if they were shopkeepers it was not for long. An all-mission conference was held that June in St. Ann's Street Chapel. James was appointed treasurer and collected over £ 53 in donations to the Perpetual Immigration Fund. Two days earlier Lucy Oakey had been baptized by Elder William Brown. Her older sister Mary was justifiably afraid of the water after the drowning of the young man and refused baptism. In later life she always seemed more rebellious than fearful, so there may have been more at play than meets the eye.

More misfortune followed. Tom described an accident at the factory as follows,

About this time I was working a machine that twisted 3 threads in to one, and one Satterday morning I fell over a basked bobbins as stood by the side of my machine and I fell with my hand into the cog wheels that were in machine by steam power. And it crushed my hand very bad but it did not break aney bons. I was at home a week with it.

Marie Jacquard in 1804, it had taken until the mid-19th century for the process to become available in England. The key is the use of punched cards laced together in a long, folding ribbon that allows the desired crochet hooks to advance through the holes at the right moment to produce the pattern. This concept is now widely considered to have been an important step in the later development of computer hardware.

And worse, all three boys developed smallpox in September. Tom only had a few lesions and began to recover on the eleventh day, but Joseph and Alfred were very sick. In the 18th day of the illness, 2½ year old Joseph died. The missionary John Wigley who had blessed the children and confirmed Grandma Oakey a member of the church conducted the service at the General Cemetery. Pallbearers were listed as sisters Fisher, Clarke, Biddles, and Mathews. I am assuming Clark was Mary C's sister Sarah and Mathews was Tom's sister Mary, and the other two were sisters in the branch. Sarah Clark and Mary Mathews were not Mormons.

After conference in October, James took the visiting apostle (almost certainly Franklin D. Richards) and missionaries in a party of 18 on a tour of the Old Nottingham castle, finishing with a meeting at St. Ann's Street Chapel that night and a tea party the next.

On January 30, 1854 the great missionary William Brewerton gave his farewell sermon at St. Ann's Street Chapel. He was being released to go to Zion. Upon arrival it did not take long for him to locate in Willard Utah, an important fact to remember for later. Elder Savage left for Salt Lake City soon afterwards. In March James Oakey was released from his calling as president of the Hyson Green Branch to preside over the Nottingham Branch although the family continued to live in Hyson Green, where my great grandmother Sarah, collector of letters, was born four days later. By this time Tom was 14 and very interested in friends. Among others, he became as he put it, intimately acquainted with Levi Naylor, who was to become a significant figure in the Oakey story, and John North.

Times must have loosened up a little financially. In August, Tom and his father James took a pleasure trip by rail with three male friends to Great Grimsby on the sea at the cost of a pound and six shillings per ticket. In October Tom and Jim got caught and released after breaching a wall at the Goose fair, attended sprees and tea parties, even entertained at their home, and lost their little brown dog.

On January 20, 1855 James was released from the presidency of the Nottingham Branch only to be appointed two months later to lead a newly organized branch at Basford. He seemed to be a regular Swiss army knife for church leadership. The family moved once again, this time moving from Forest Road in Hyson Green to Lothian Place, Bellar Gate, very close to James' and Tom's work in the heart of Nottingham's lace district in the Old Town.

In April Tom quit his job of 3½ years and moved up to a warp machine at Thomas Roberts' factory to work alongside his father. He celebrated his 15th birthday on July 5 by producing 12 yards of lace on his own machine. Up to this point his journal had been written retrospectively as a history, but as a birthday resolution he commenced to keep it concurrently. Here the transcriber left this note: *Only the important items from here on,* rather to my chagrin. But to be honest, that is more or less what I've been doing myself...

The Nottingham conference was held two days before Christmas and James was again re-assigned. He was released as president of Basford, placed over the Radford Branch and installed as clerk of the Nottingham Conference. In a great spirit of renewal, all the branch

presidents of the conference were re-baptized on January sixth. After his own re-baptism by Elder James Carrigan, president of the Nottingham Conference and his re-confirmation by Israel Evans, James personally re-baptized Grandfather and Grandmother Oakey and many branch members including relatives of Tom's friend Levi Naylor. Tom, Jim, and Lucy were also taken to the River Trent. I assume rebellious daughter Mary refused again; she was not mentioned.

In May 1856 James wrote a letter to Brigham Young.

Dear Brother I write you a line or tow hopeing you will accept the small present that I send with Elder James Stones, hour late President, praying at the same time that I may have the privelidge of gathering up with the Saints of the Lord, but the meanes is not in my power at present to accomplish that desire, hopeing you will think of me in my turn and asist me by the P. E. Fund when I have proved myself worther of such a blessing. I do not know that I can prove to you that I ham worther but I ask you to inquire of those Elders that I have laboured under namely Elders William Brewton, Lewis Robins, Henry Savadge, Joseph Westwood, James Stones, and last but not least Elder Daniel Spencer. I need not take youre time by sending you a long letter but would just say that I obeyed the Gospel on the 10 day of February 1850 and have felt since that time to rejoice and to asist with my mite mind and strenth to do all that I could and I pray that that feeling may increace in me as I increace in knoledge. I have a Father and Mother that receaved the Gospel in 1850 and the other in 1851 which I would like to gather up with me and I would see to the money being refunded as soon as I could. I am willing to make eney arangements that you may require. I might say that I am a Lace Maker by trade but feel willing to do eney think I could get to do. I could work at the Smithing, next to my own bisness and if you wanted Lace makeing I could fix the machinery for it and meny other Fabricks...

So I will conclude at this time having myself in your hands Praying that wisdom may direct you in all you do.

Your Brother in the Gospel. Elder James Oakey

There is no indication that President Young replied. In any case it was nine more years before James would be in Zion.

The next month he moved the family just under a mile north to Hawkridge Street within the city proper. That month two new mission presidents arrived in England, Orson Pratt and Ezra T. Benson. They brought with them a new commitment to the law of tithing, which they introduced throughout the mission.

In July Tom wrote: "This week me and my Father was altering my frame for to make Jackhard lace". This would be a big step up for Tom and unlike his father, he accomplished this without enduring a formal apprenticeship.

On August 3, 1856 Tom's journal notes:

Sunday Fast and sacrifice day. My Mother went over to ---- The saints conessed to pay tything.

The very next day James and Mary C had enough money left over for a once-in-a-lifetime (for them) sightseeing trip to London by rail, made possible by the recent rail linkage of Nottingham to Pancras Station, to which Tom dedicates pages of his journal to enthusiastic chronicling. That day they rode and walked what must have seemed an incredible combined 252 miles, getting home at two the next morning.

For the next two years there were no more moves and no changes in church assignments mentioned in the diary. There are recorded some of Tom's social activities including a walk in the park with Miss Thatcher, visits from relatives, and religious duties, Tom having been ordained a deacon, which involved "duty at the door at night", placing tracts, bearing his testimony in meetings, serving in the council for social events, and collecting tithing.

Reporting the emigration for the 1856 season, Tom's journal lists by name eight chartered ships carrying a total of 4,326 Saints. There follows here a maddening gap in the diary of six years, recommencing in 1862. I am not sure whether Tom failed to record these years or the transcriber deemed them "unimportant."

It was probably around this time that James moved his family for the last time in Nottingham, this time to a much larger house on Skinner Street near Mansfield Road on the north end of Nottingham not far from the center of Mormon religious activities in St. Ann's Street Chapel to a nice house which would serve him well for years, allowing him to host friends, missionaries, and church officials. Though Sarah in her old age mistakenly wrote that the European Mission Headquarters had moved there, it certainly must have seemed that way to her, continually hosting missionaries and sometimes more important visitors including at least two apostles of the church. According to her daughter Mamie, Sarah remembered it as a large two story house, and sometimes scary:

Mother (Sarah) *would rather go down the dark alley than go in the front door, for she said Bro Brown always made her come and kiss him. Rosy did not mind and he gave her pennies. He wanted Mother, but she would not.*

Unfortunately, Skinner Street no longer exists, nor of course does the house, both having been casualties of growth and modernization in Nottingham.

On Sunday, March 15, 1857 James re-baptized a group of eight adults including Dinah and William Naylor, parents of Tom's friend Levi. Two days later he re-baptized six more members of the Radford Branch, all likely in outdoor meetings on the Trent River.

Among the papers that Tom found stored in the barn with his journal were some loose pages the size of post-it notes, scratch paper substituting for a proper bound diary, upon which he had scribbled journal entries in 1862 during the family's stay in Florence, Nebraska while waiting for their wagon company to depart. That day I will describe later, but on the reverse side of the scraps were ink notations in James' handwriting dated

August 7, 1858, evidently a discarded church financial record of sales of the *Millennial Star* and another journal, part of his duty as district financial clerk.

All of James' siblings including his step brother John Curzon, none of them Mormons, lived in Nottingham at this time except possibly Elizabeth (Betsy), the youngest, who had moved with her husband to Leicester sometime between 1855 and 1861. On October 27, 1859 his oldest sister Mary Matthews died at age 48. Her four oldest children were already adults, but she left behind Edwin age 14, John age 12 and Rosina (known to the family as Rosa or Rosy), age seven. Probably because Rosa was only slightly older than James and Mary C's Sarah, she moved into their family, probably immediately after her mother died, but at least before the 1861 census. Edwin was likely away in an apprenticeship at age 14 or out to seek his fortune on his own. I could not find either of the other boys or their peripatetic Irish father James for certain—there were just too many people named Matthews in Nottingham. The boys did not show up with the families of James' siblings Kitty or William, who both had multiple children under 10, and possibly were not able to take in another. Except for Sarah, Mary C's kids were teenagers, though she was eight months pregnant with Hyrum. Maybe they volunteered because Sarah and Rosa were the ideal age for babysitting.

The year 1860 brought changes to the Mormon Church in Nottingham and in all England. Nottingham Conference became a District of the European Mission. Brigham Young selected the three apostles who had organized and run the California Mission--Charles C. Rich, Amasa Lyman, and George Q. Cannon--to take over the European Mission, based in Liverpool. Nottingham District was headed by Elder Rich's 19 year old son Joseph Rich and James S. Brown, who had arrived on their own missions with the three great men.

James S. Brown

James S. Brown was born on Independence Day in 1828, joined the church with his family at age 18 in 1844 and exited Illinois with the Saints in the first wave. He served as a private in the Mormon Battalion. To earn money for his return to Utah he was, along with James Marshall, the first person to discover gold at Sutter's Mill. Having returned to Utah he was called by Brigham Young on a mission to Tahiti in 1849. On his way he accompanied George Q. Cannon, Charles C. Rich, Amasa Lyman and their companions who left October 7 to establish the Gold Mission and to organize the church in California. Back from his Tahiti mission and living in Ogden he was called to another mission, this time to England with Cannon, Rich, and Lyman. He left two wives behind, Lydia Tanner with three children ages five, three, and one, and Rebecca Ann McBride, who was pregnant. She had lost a one-year-old two years earlier, but had a little girl named Deseret who was nearly four. According to the dates recorded in

that family's genealogy, Deseret died on July 22, 1860, the very same day that her sister Alverette was born while James S. Brown was on board the steamer *Edinburgh*, bound for Liverpool. Though not an apostle himself, he was clearly part of the "A Team" arriving with Rich and Lyman, being assigned almost immediately to Nottingham for most of his mission, and returning home when they did.

But before the apostles arrived in 1860 came another milestone in Tom's life, which would eventually make a large impact on the entire Oakey family. His best friend Levi Naylor went to Zion. Levi's father William Naylor had been baptized in Radford by Elder John Wigley in 1849 just a few months before the Oakeys made their move to Mansfield Road when Alfred was an infant and Tom and Levi were nine, so they had known each other for a long time. The Naylors aimed to immigrate to Utah, but couldn't afford to go as a group, so they elected to send their oldest boys ahead of them a year apart.

At age 20 Levi left Liverpool on the ship *Underwriter* in March. Starting out early in June he crossed the plains pulling a handcart out of Florence in the Daniel Robison Company and located in West Jordan after his arrival August 27, finding work with a man named Pymm.

Because Tom's journal at this point goes silent until April of 1862, I will now draw heavily on the journals of the apostles George Q. Cannon and Amasa Lyman and the excellent biography of Charles C. Rich by Leonard Arrington.

It is likely that Levi's handcart company encountered at least the first outgoing party of missionaries headed for England on his way to the valley. When this happened the church officials traveling east generally would halt and minister to the pioneer parties they encountered before resuming their own trip eastward. Amasa Lyman's journal records starting out from Salt Lake City on the first of May in the company of Charles C. Rich, Joseph Rich and nine others. George Q. Cannon left in July. After reaching the east coast the Lyman-Rich party crossed the Atlantic in style aboard the steamer *Edinburgh* in fair weather, arriving in Liverpool in an astounding 10 days.

From the files of the British Mission, Friday July 27, 1860:

*The following Elders arrived in Liverpool, per steamship "*Edinburgh*" as missionaries from Utah to Great Britain: Amasa M. Lyman and Charles C. Rich of the Quorum of the twelve Apostles, accompanied by eleven others--namely Francis M. Lyman, Joseph C. Rich, John Tobin, John Brown, James S. Brown, Joseph F. Smith, Samuel H. B. Smith, William H. Dame, Reuben A. McBride, Samuel L. Adams, and Davie M. Stuart. They were also accompanied by Mrs. Perris and daughter, on business to this country.*

Taking over the European mission on July 27 they quickly learned that the previous administration had mishandled £11,000 in tithing that had been collected over the previous two years. It had been used to support missionaries, allowing them to live high while their families were suffering at home. The apostles quickly sent out a report to Brigham Young and put an end to that. Lyman took over the *Millennial Star* and mission office, while Rich traveled and preached. A new sheriff had come to town.

Three days later young Joseph C. Rich was sent to Nottingham. On August 11, Amasa Lyman and Charles C. Rich themselves visited Nottingham at the home of David Johns, where they found Joseph Rich and James Brown in good health. In September fourteen additional missionaries arrived and the two apostles left England to visit the Scandinavian Saints.

On November 6, Abraham Lincoln was elected president.

In December, George Q. Cannon and his wife Elizabeth Hoagland Cannon boarded the steamer *Arago*, bound for England. In his journal the apostle noted his concern that the southern states were upset about Lincoln and were threatening to secede. They arrived in Liverpool on December 21 to learn that South Carolina had left the Union.

In January, 1861 Rich and Lyman attend Nottingham conference. The apostle Charles C. Rich stayed with Joseph Rich for several days while Lyman went on to Mansfield with James Brown, Joseph's companion. The two young elders had been leading the Nottingham Conference. However, according to the census that year Joseph Rich was not yet living with the Oakey family and Rosa on Skinner Street. Nor was the Oakeys' 14 year old son Jim. Jim Oakey and Joseph Rich were living together in the town of Pinxton near Alfreton, about 15 miles from Nottingham. Jim was listed as a coal miner and boarder and Rich, 20 years old, as a visitor and Mormon missionary. They were staying with a coal miner named John Farnsworth, 33, from Alfreton, his 33 year old wife Hannah, his son George 13, his daughter Louisa ten, and his son Joseph age eight. Not surprisingly, this was a Mormon family, who would soon immigrate with the Oakey family in 1862 on the *John J. Boyd*, and travel across the plains in the wagon company which Rich's companion, James S. Brown, had been assigned to lead. Once in Zion, John Farnsworth continued to work as a coal miner, dying in 1893 in Coalville at age 65 in a mining accident. By then he had taken three additional wives and had 20 children.

On January 23, the 36 year old spinster Ann Carson, who years later would become James' second wife, married the recently widowed John Taylor in Saint Mary's Church. John was a bricklayer who also lived in the Mansfield Road area but was evidently not a Mormon. I would love to know what the Oakeys knew and how they felt about this event, since James was likely Ann's branch president.

The Confederates attacked Fort Sumter on April 12, 1861 and the American Civil War began.

In May a letter arrived in mission headquarters from Elder Brown reporting that Joseph C. Rich was laboring successfully in the nine branches of the Nottingham Conference and would assist him in the financial labors of the district. Twelve days later came an equally complimentary letter from Elder Joseph about District President Brown.

George Q. Cannon made the following entry into his journal on August 31 about a recent visit to Nottingham:

I found Bro. S. L. Adams, Pres't of the Warwickshire Conference, (from Nephi, U. T.) there and Bro. Joseph C. Rich. They were both well. They had all made calculations on my wife coming with me. Bro. and Sis. Oakey, with whom the brethren stopped, treated me very kindly, while on this visit, as they did when I stopped with them for one night while on a visit to the Derby Conference early in the season. The saints crowded into the house in the evening and we had a very pleasant time together.

I wonder just how many Saints could have "crowded into" the Oakey house that evening and which children were required to sleep on the floor that night, the second time the great man had slept there.

Conference was held in Nottingham the following morning, without Amasa Lyman and Charles C. Rich, who were ministering in Scandinavia. Among the records preserved at the British Mission headquarters is a copy of the minutes of the conference as reported by young Joseph Rich. There is also an interesting letter of instruction from Brigham Young to the Elder Cannon, showing what seems to be uncharacteristic trust and latitude, suggesting the difficulty in micromanaging across continents:

Bro's Amasa and Charles are at liberty to tarry as long as they may please, and of course to return when they please, a period which three of the Twelve need have no difficulty in properly determining.

As it turned out, Lyman and Rich would have a rather short stay in England, leaving President Cannon on his own for a couple more years.

In December, Victoria's consort Prince Albert died at the age of 42, throwing the entire country into mourning for a year—and the queen for the rest of her very long reign. Charles C. Rich visited Nottingham that month, reporting to Salt Lake that the Saints were doing all they could to emigrate. Elder James S. Brown reported from Nottingham in February:

The saints in Nottingham are happy, but poor financially. The Spirit of emigration is contagious. Many enquire even before baptism. Fathers and mothers are striving to send their sons and daughters ahead of them.

He could have been speaking specifically of the Oakey family.

Chapter 15

From Nottingham to Zion

West Jordan, Great Salt Lake City

U S North America

Mr Thomas Oakey

Dear Brother

....very glad to receive a letter from you yet sorry to hear of you being out of work so long— hope by now you have plenty. Pleased to learn that you intended to come out this year. Bring light shoes with you and blue checked shirts. Dont bring any braces (suspenders) *with you. We never wear any here. I am pleased to learn that your cousin Bob has joined the church. I hope he will profit by it. Tell your father the reason that I have sent no newspapers is because I could not raise 3 cents to pay postage. If you come I hope you will bring Ann and Elizabeth with you. I shall be glad to associate with you again. You say you can sympathise with me with being away from home and somebody else and Tom you dont half know what it is. I have been away nearly 2 years from my parents and brothers and sisters and Elizabeth whom I love as dear as my own life. I often think of Elizabeth. I love her I hope she will come this year. Tom I love you about as well and all the boys and girls. Tell my folks that Brother Pymm in connection with about 400 families is sent on a mission to the full extremity of the southern part of the territory to raise cotton. Indigo, madder, hemp, figs tobacco etc to supply the wants of the territory. The time is coming and now is when the Saints have to depend chiefly upon their own resources. Tom bring plenty of ammunition for shooting with you. Powder is dear here. The reason of that is because we are saving it all for a time of need. You know we are expecting Uncle Sam with an army here again. You know we have commenced on the temple again. Tom I wish you and my brother William and Isaac Goff Jun. was here. We should have fine times in the mountain in the summer time with cutting timber. Hurry along here boys. Dont spend a farthing unnecessary. You can get to Florence comfortable for 8 then the Church trains will fetch you over the plains. Tell Bill I want him to come. Tell my father I will send for them the first Chance.*

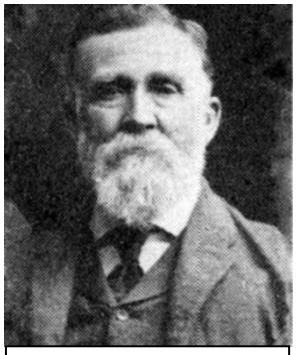
Yours Truly, Levi Naylor

Levi was responding to a letter written in early 1862 from his best friend Tom Oakey. Like the Naylors, the Oakeys had decided to send their three oldest children to Zion to pave the way for the rest. A list of reservations for the *John J. Boyd* scheduled to leave April 23, 1862 from the records of the British Mission lists Thomas Oakey age 21, occupation: weaver, Mary Oakey, age 19, and Lucy Oakey, age 17. Apparently Tom was asking for Levi's advice for the trip.

In addition to useful, practical suggestions regarding baggage and travel, Levi went much deeper, betraying his two years of loneliness for his friends and family while in Zion. He

recommended that Tom bring Ann Varney, who was Levi's first cousin and Tom's girlfriend. And he hoped his brother William would come and his cousin Isaac.

As it turned out, Levi's brother Bill Naylor was indeed able to get on the *John J. Boyd* that spring and his parents followed as planned the next year, though an unfortunate infection forced his father to leave one of his legs behind, greatly complicating his pioneer crossing. Sadly, Bill died two years later in Utah in a blizzard. Returning home from Cottonwood one night, where he had gone to pay tithing, he could not find the dugout door among the snowdrifts. The family found him by his tracks the next morning sitting dead in the cow shed. Interestingly, he was sealed posthumously years later in 1885 to a girl named Sarah Ann Astill who had died in Nottingham in 1853. The sister who stood in proxy for her in the ceremony was Elizabeth Astill, who I strongly suspect was the very Elizabeth for whom Levi declared love in his letter to Tom. I wonder if Levi stood in proxy in that ceremony for his brother William. It would have been a strange scene to see the two former lovers being married in proxy for their dead siblings. By that time Elizabeth was in her second marriage with six kids and Levi had an even dozen and had just married a second wife. The Astills did not arrive in Salt Lake until 1872, way too late for Levi, who married Emma O'Conner Goff in October, 1862, fresh off the wagon train just two weeks before the Oakeys arrived in Salt Lake and only a half year after penning the above letter. Emma was the sister of Isaac Goff, whom he mentioned in the letter, which made her Levi's first cousin. As a Naylor granddaughter tells it, when Emma hesitated to accept a proposal to marriage from a cousin he asked her if she would prefer to be a second or third wife of an old polygamist and she chose him, besides she was only a second cousin. Well, she was actually a first cousin. And Levi eventually married two more wives. Go figure.



Levi Naylor

Another letter reacting to the emigration plans came from the town of Woolrich in the London area in March, not to Tom, but to his fifteen year old brother Jim. It was written in ink with quill pen on a half sheet of lined paper with many folds. The left side is irregularly torn with the writing margin correspondingly bent to conform, suggesting that a ragged piece of paper had been used initially.

Dear James I write these few lines to you hoping they will find you well and in good health as it leaves me at the presant time thank God for it. Jim you can tel Lucy that I shall keep that lockit for a keep sake to keep me in remembrance of her and tell her that if she will send me her likeness I will send her mine. Dear Jim I am very sorey to lerne that Samuel Radford has got so much. you can tell my mates that I would sooner be in my place than his. I hope that you will tell my farther to send me a paper with the secsions in it as I for got to ask them in the letter that I sent them. Jim I hope that you have raised a bit of a spree at the races. I hope that you will soon have more work than you have yet now. Dear James I dont know what you mean about being in my place. You said that you would not let her (Lucy) *go. I hope that if she is going to start from London you will let me know as soon as you can and I will try what I can*

do....Dear James I must now conclude with resending my best respects to you and your farther and sisters and to all my ship mates and to all my palls...from your ever loveing mate.

John Robinson

So not everyone was happy with the Oakeys' plan. Neither Lucy's boyfriend nor her brother supported it. Possibly Jim just felt the he should have been on the list in Lucy's place, but the letter suggests that he would sooner have traded places with John, who seems to have joined the Royal Navy. At that time Lucy Oakey and John Robinson were both seventeen and Jim was fifteen. The fact that John had written to Jim instead of Lucy is interesting, but perhaps that is only because Jim had written him first. Or perhaps since Jim was still mining in Pinxton, the letter was sent there to prevent interception by James Oakey. It is curious that we have this letter at all. My theory is that it was found in Lucy's belongings when she died on the trail near the Elkhorn Bridge, and the family kept it as a memory of her. Its physical appearance alone tells a story. It had been folded many times and soiled on the outside surface that was exposed when re-folded, suggesting it had been kept in a small, tight place.

The 1861 census shows 19 boys of that age named John Robinson in Nottinghamshire, but only two of them lived near Skinner Street. One of these was a railway clerk from London, who was boarding near the old castle, and not likely the writer because the letter mentioned having family in Nottingham. The other was the son of Samuel Robinson, a lace maker. That John Robinson worked as a warper in a lace factory. The family lived in Lenton. The friend Samuel whom John mentioned, who seems to have gotten jail time, could have been the Samuel Radford of the same age in Garden Place, Lenton, another lace maker and the son of William Radford, lace maker.

Woolwich was the site of the Royal Arsenal, which had experienced a huge expansion in the late 1850s as a result of the Crimean War. It housed a military school, naval troops and a heavy naval manufacturing industry including making ammunition and gun carriages.

In February George Q. Cannon noted in his journal that his wife Elizabeth was very sick with gastric fever. He continued to express his concern for her for weeks. Finally on March 22, he and Brother Brown took Elizabeth and her baby Georgiana, who had been born in Liverpool the previous May, to the Oakey house in Nottingham, thinking a change of air would have a beneficial effect. Later, on April 3rd he wrote,

--to Nottingham. Georgiana had a cold, but Elizabeth felt much better and appeared stronger than when I last saw her.

The following day, Tom entered the first item in his journal in over two years:

April 3—Pres G Q Cannon called at night. Proposed for Mother, Sarah, and Hyrum and Alfred to go along with us, Thomas Mary Lucy, James to the Valley. Sister Cannon preferred to take Rosa with her to Liverpool. Cannons and Rosa left April 8 for Liverpool.

On April 8, this is what Elder Cannon wrote:

We left Nottingham at 7.25 AM. Bro. Oakey and family has been very kind to Elizabeth and Bro. Jas. S. Brown has spared no pains to make her visit agreeable. Elizabeth took a little niece of Bro. Oakey's with her home; her name is Rose Matthews.

So in this already volatile time of preparation, things changed in several big ways. Evidently in response to the Oakey's care of his family, George Q. Cannon found a way to add four more Oakeys at the last minute to the *John J. Boyd*'s passenger list, taking Rosa into his own care. (From Tom's diary it appears that Jim had already been belatedly added.) Only James and Grandma and Grandpa Oakey would be left in England...or so it seemed.

The sense of urgency and haste in the next few days is clear from Tom's writing. He and his mother did some hurried shopping. Jim came back from Pinxton with his 13 year old mate George Farnsworth to spend the remaining time with Oakeys before leaving Nottingham. I'll let Tom tell most of the story from here.

April 12—work. Out with father in town. Went to Ann's. came down town. went to her Aunt's (This would be Dinah Naylor, Levi's mother)*. Bought several things for Emigration. Had supper at Ann's at night.*

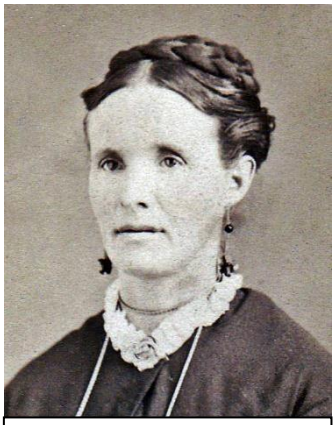
April 13—Elder James S. Brown's farewell sermon in Nottingham. as mee and Ann was coming from meeting I hast Sis Elizah Falls to lend mee the £ that she had in her emigration and my father would pay her back. She kindly consented. After we went on to our house and then I hast Joseph Morley and A Amot and I got £ 200 more. Then I was prepared for Ann to go along with us to the valley. There were quite a crowd at hour house and we all went up the road to gather at night.

April 14--Early this morning Bro J S Brown was preparing to leave for Liverpool had some talk with him. I went to work. was out with mother buying some things...etc.

Elder Brown's final report as district president to George Q. Cannon was recorded April 23, 1862 in the *Millennial Star*:

...I feel gratified not only for being privileged to return home, but for having such a company of Saints entrusted to my charge: and feeling desirous to labour for the comfort and wellbeing of all on board, I pray got to endow me with sufficient of his Holy Spirit to enable me to efficiently discharge the various duties devolving upon me. With kind love to yourself, Presidents Lyman and Rich, and all in the office, I remain yours in truth, James S. Brown.

From Tom's journal:


Ann Varney

April 15--at home and in shop packing my tools in the morning and at 3 oclock I got the news and notification for Ann Varney to go along with us on the Packet ship John J Boyd *I then put on my coat and went to her house hand they told mee that she was at work.*

Ann's parents were not pleased, but...

April 16--in the evening I went up to her house and found her preparing to go her mother was in but did not say aney thing to mee so she packed her bundle and I carried it down and she came with mee quite pleased we got home about 8 oclock and went on packing the bags a while then I went up again with Ann her parents had gone to bed I returned home but did not get to bed until 3 oclock I packed my best clothes in an old bag to go right through to Great Salt Lake City—a full nite.

Naturally Tom's account centered on his own actions, so we can only guess what was happening during that frantic time with the rest of the Oakeys. I suspect the family member who was most impacted was Mary C, who until then had no idea that she would be making this trip so soon and without her husband. Hyrum was only three years old and Sarah was eight.

The next two days occupy several pages in Tom's journal, which bear interesting reading. The family arrived at Midland Train Station around noon on April 17th. Tom and his brothers pulled up with the dray and found a porter to help them to transport the considerable amount of luggage into the baggage car. There was great confusion and mountains of luggage from the large assemblage of Nottingham people departing or saying good-bye. Ann's parents were not among them, but her Aunt Harriet came tell to him how worried they were and to admonish Tom to:

...look well after Ann and take care of her. I bid her good by...and Samuel Palmer, what with the words they said to me and the thorts of leaving my Father it brought a feeling over mee that I cold not recest...I had a talk with Bro W Naylor concerning E Astil and what I was to tell his son Levi Naylor when I got through to Great Salt Lake City. I went along the platform and bid maney of the Saints good bye. Spoke to my father and he said cheer up, and I got into the carrage and looked at the long acquianted faces around that I were going to leave behind. I bid all good by...I then commenced a journey of 8,000 miles along with my Mother and sisters Mary, Lucy, Sarah, Alfred, Hyram and Ann Varney and my bro James and cousin Edward Matthews. James was going along with Bro John Farnsworth. There was about 60 Saints from Nottingham in the train.

Evidently it was felt that sending Jim with the Farnsworths, with whom he had already been living for over a year, would relieve Tom of a little of the huge and premature responsibility of taking over as father of the family for the trip. I do not know how Edwin Matthews got included. He was Rosa's older brother, and had not been living with the

Oakeys. He was a bit of a troublemaker and I have a hunch that Elder Cannon knew him through Rosa and had sent him in an effort to straighten him out, recruiting their relatives the Oakeys to take care of him.

The train took them through the meadows giving them a last look at the old Nottingham Castle and the Trent River all the way south to London, where they changed in Pancras Station to the North Western Railway bringing them to the Liverpool Line Street Station around 6:30 PM. There they were met by Elders J. S. Brown and Charles C. Rich, who conducted them to Hammerstein's boarding house on Earl Street. Tom was assigned to take account of all the Nottingham party's luggage including the Oakeys' three boxes and three bags, which he delivered with the help of ten other brothers through the back streets of Liverpool to the boarding house. By the time he got there it was half past nine. Tom had missed dinner and was tired out, and then found that Mary C had loaned out to others the bedding which she had brought and he had to sleep on the floor in his clothes.

The next day was Good Friday, April 18th. They all got up for breakfast and Tom wrote his father a letter recounting the journey, the uncomfortable night, and the unexpected expenses for the boarding house. They had expected to board the ship immediately and had not counted on paying for food and lodging. On the way to post the letter he explored the shops and docks. Then he and Ann took a steamboat to the tower at Birkenhead, to a coffee house for lunch, and back, experiencing the rocking of a large boat for the first time. In the afternoon he went out with Levi's brother William and Isaac Astil to look over their ship moored at the dock at Bramley, observing the many ships and loading cranes. When he returned to the boarding house the family had gone without him up to see Sister Cannon at the mission office. He joined them there and afterwards they visited the Sloans.[59] Mary C stayed there, but Tom, Ann, and Lucy came back to the boarding house to attend a meeting where allowances were distributed to the travelers from the emigration fund. When Tom's name was called he was given £ 7-17-7, a rather small amount that caused him much uneasiness.

From George Q. Cannon's journal:

*19 April 1862 The Saints are busy getting their things on board the "*John J. Boyd*." The ship is not in a complete state of preparation, though it should have been ready for the people to go aboard yesterday.*

That day Tom went back to the mission office to meet with Br. Brown and Elder Rich about the money, worried that more would be needed. Evidently he had to sign a note on James' account for more. He spoke with Rosa and told her to be a good girl before returning to the boarding house to prepare to move the group's luggage to the ship. His helpers had not arrived so he went with his mother and Ann to a recommended emigrant outfitter and bought their tin ware and a few groceries, burning another pound and eleven shillings, and

[59] Edward Lennox Sloan was an Irish poet, who had joined the Mormon Church and moved to Liverpool to work as a writer on the Millennial Star. He immigrated the following year with his wife, Mary Wallace and their children.

finally boarded the ship with the luggage at four o'clock. Then Mary C, Ann, and the Oakey girls were assigned berths 31-34 and Tom in 111 back among the young men in the bachelors' quarters with his 17 year old cousin Edwin Matthews, whom the family called Ted.

They had just finished unpacking their luggage when a young man came aboard asking to see young Mary Oakey. Tom wrote:

She was taking off her bonnet and cloak. She took them in her hand went past mee to see him. It was the young man named Jim Herinton who had come up from Nottingham by a special train and the young man that came into the ship. It appeared that Jim had not pluck enuf to fetch her himself but had to bring a young sayler with him. She went out with him and I kept on fixing for the night. Mother and James went out after her and did not want her to go out and Jim tried to hold her but she wanted to go. Jim Herinton kept out of sight. Mother and Jim kept up with Mary and the young man that came in the ship up the road. Mother told the police but they would do nothing in it and somehow Mary and the young man slipt of and left mother and Jim. The young man went through a house where he said Jim Herinton was. We think that he told Jim Herinton to go out back way for he came out again and ran round a corner and mother and Jim lost sight of them both. Mary never saw Jim Herinton.

Mary may not have seen Jim Etherington (his actual last name) just then, but she was with him plenty after that. The pair returned to Nottingham and eventually she got back in contact with her father James and her other relatives still in England, but she was not to see her mother and siblings again for about thirteen years.

Jim Etherington

Mary C asked Elder Brown to send two men to search for Mary. Brown told Tom go along too, so he put on his cloak and went. He ran into two men of the Nottingham group who reported having seen Mary looking quite pleased in the company of a young man. After a search they found nothing and Tom returned exhausted to the ship after dark where the passengers were in chaos with children crying among piles of bags and boxes in all directions. He found his way to the women's section and found his siblings all in bed, where he made the confused situation exponentially worse, telling Mary C and Ann that he had been unable to see any sign of Mary. Tom had not eaten since breakfast. Feeling faint he left the ship with Ann to pick up a basket they had checked at the station and got something to eat, then returned to the ship and sat a while talking with Ann and Mary C about Mary. When they went to their berths, Tom spent a very cold night lying on some boxes, apparently unable to find his way back in the darkness to 111. He woke up in the dark at about 3 o'clock and looked around the ship, finding four men on guard on the deck. It was so cold there he finally sought out his berth and warmed up in bed. By 6:30 he was up again, washed and headed for breakfast. It was Easter Sunday.

Looking around in the daylight Tom felt that the ship looked pretty old. He and the other young Mormon boys helped the sailors unmoor the ship around 9 am. It was 3 pm before the tug boat moved the ship to the middle of the River Mersey and about four miles downriver away from the city dock and put the ship at anchor to prepare for sea. Mail was brought on board with a letter from James, which Tom quickly answered, telling of Mary's abduction. James had sent additional bags for the family with Brother David Cant, who came on board with his wife and daughter. Tom wrote: "It was a faraway Sunday for me."

On Monday the government officers, the doctor, and Sister Cannon came on board with E. L. Sloan and others. The Oakey family passed the medical exam as did all the other families, save one, who had measles. As a doctor I winced when I read this. I can attest that removing one family with the measles does not at all solve the problem, as we will shortly see. All three apostles--Rich, Cannon, and Lyman--came aboard and held a church meeting,

...giving such apropriate Instructions so whole stirred the comfort and happiness on there Voyage and all the saints seamed greatly cheared. They then appointed L. Bream and John Lindsey and Jos. C. Rich the councilers over the Ships company and Eld Alern Nelson the Passenger Steward. The Presidency and saints and captain and the officers left the ship Admist the cheering of all the saints. John S Painter and M A Brooks married that Night. [60]

In his report to mission headquarters, Elder Brown reported that Sister Birt was safely delivered of a fine boy to be named Francis Boyd Birt—both were doing well.

On Tuesday the 22nd the ship was still at anchor, awaiting appropriate winds. Tom again received and sent mail via Brother Sloan. Ann sent a letter as well. Rations of biscuit, flour, oatmeal, rice, peas, pepper, mustard, vinegar, sugar, and tea were dispensed. That evening President James S. Brown organized the 701 Mormon emigrants into nine wards. Tom was assigned to the eighth, one of the two bachelor wards. Mary C was assigned to the fifth, presumably with Ann and the younger children. Jim was in the seventh, over which John Farnsworth had been appointed president. Ted Matthews was not mentioned. I don't think he was a Mormon. Group prayers were to be held at 8:30 am and 9 pm in each ward, summoned by the sound of the bugle. Young men were required be out of the general quarters by 6 pm and could not enter them until after 7 am.

Finally at 5 am on April 23 Captain Thomas and his lady came on board and two hours later the ship was moving, towed out to sea by the retriever *Liverpool*. The sails were hoisted, billowed in a suboptimal wind, and the tugs retreated. By 3 o'clock every Oakey family

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[60]From the files of the British Mission, LDS Church Archives: The passengers who crossed the Atlantic on the ship *John J. Boyd* in 1882 came from the following countries: England 623, Scotland 26, Wales 48, and America 4. 144 were children of which 31 were infants. All emigrants sailed with the design of proceeding to Florence in view of being assisted through to Utah. Fare for adults was £ 3.16, children £ 2.16, and infants £ 0.10. Total fare was £ 2433.6. James S. Brown was president of the company and John Lindsey and Joseph C. Rich acted as his counselors. Aaron Nelson served as steward and Wm. Hewett and Joshua Bennett as Cooks. The ship *John J. Boyd* sailed from Liverpool for New York April 23, 1862.

member including Tom was rendered helpless by seasickness along with all but eleven of the passengers. Moving up channel they passed an island which increased the wind and the swells, making everyone all the sicker. There was nothing to do but go to bed early. The next morning Tom and Ann had recovered along with many of the other Saints, but not the rest of the Oakeys. As they passed the Isle of Mann rations of beef and pork were handed out, but no one could eat. To make things worse, the Clifford family broke out with the measles. The next day the coast of Ireland was sighted and as they tacked in the Irish Channel they spotted the Scottish coast. That night they drifted, becalmed, and drew dangerously near the rocks of the coast just a stone's throw away. Sister Leach accidentally scalded her child. A morning gentle breeze rescued them from a precarious position near the rocks. Two boats drew near to sell fish but it was too expensive for everyone but the captain, who bought some for himself. Then they were becalmed again, still in sight of land, but they had reached the northwest coast of Ireland. It was their second Sunday on board ship. Still in sight of land, President James S. Brown ordered mild rationing of their water, saving 10% each day, correctly anticipating a longer voyage than planned. During their singing of hymns the third mate and his crew came to the deck and commenced a song in opposition to the worship, but the captain came by and put an end to it. After President Brown had given his sermon, Tom and Ann announced their engagement to the entire congregation. It would be six more months before their actual marriage was performed in Salt Lake City, two months after their arrival in Zion.

James must have received several letters from the family written in the six days between their sendoff at the train station and the *John J. Boyd*'s lurch into the Irish channel. Tom alone had written three, Mary C at least one. While the ship was at sea James Oakey wrote the following letter, which the family did not likely receive until they had reached Florence, Nebraska.

Skinner St Ap 30 – 1862

Dear Wife. I sit down to write you a line or tow but it is with Perculer feelings. I receaved your letter and was glad to find that you had resined your mind so well with regard to the corce that Mary as taken. I ham verry sorry that she as acted so unwise but she must now take her corce. I was at Lenton on Munday night lookin out for them. We went down to Marley's on Tuesday and Sis Hatton came down and tould me that Mary was come so I went off to Lenton again. I went to Heatheringams but they was not there. I lernt after she was at Hannah Astle so I did not get to see her. I heard they had quite a rejoicing on Tuesday night as though they had don somthink very grand. And Mrs Beck set her on work as soon as the holleydays was over. So she is working at her old Place and she is now living at one Mrs Goodalls cloce to the Place whare she works. I have herd that she had a note put in her hand in the Station yard. If they had have given it to me I could have frustrated her desire. Mary Hatten heard Jim and one name Charley Helliott making a bargain to go to Liverpool to fetch Mary back and he was to go on bord as they would not know him. Mary Hatton tould Jim that Bro Oakey was going. He said he did not care if the Devel was going, he ment to have her. They have talked and laught about the affair and tould how they went on, how that they took

her to a Inn at Birkenhead and was there and seede Bro. Brown Pass cloce by the house where they was. I wish Bro Nelson had have pitched him over Bord and Baptised him for the remission of his imperdence. Sarah Ann Morley herd what Sis Hatton said and went and tould Mary all about what had Pased and Mary tould Mrs Beck and they all begun on Mary Hatton and called her scandless. Mrs Beck tould her she would have no more peace theare, but I hope it will not be so bad as what it looks at Present. I wrote Mary a note last Wensday a week to night since and she as not sent me an ancer or come to see me yet so I have not seen her. I have hird of her by everyboddy allmost I meet. It seems to be in everyboddys mouth. The same with regard to Sis Carrington, her case as being going the round of the Press. They think she as acted so wise by not going. I wrote to Honley and tould them when you left Nottingham and when you sailed. I tould them I would send them a Star with the name of the Vessel when it was Printed and for them to write to me as hofen as they could.

Buff went down home on Munday morning but I do not think she will stop. They is a note from her to Lucy. You may tell Lucy that old Coy is comming to Nottingham on next Sunday to stop a week. Tell Tom and Ann I have not seen or herd from her Folks yet. I ges they get thare news from Sis Naylor.

Give my love to all the Children and all inquiring Friends. Tell Joseph not to forget his promis if he has a chance to write and you send me a note in his and let me know how you are geting on. I hope you will be able to see to the rest of the Children and gather them safe to Zion. The work is mooving on at Nottingham. Bro Chase Baptized 12 the first week after you left. He as organised Bullwell into a Branch and Place me to Preside over it, so you can think of me being at Bullwell every Sunday this year out which I hope will be the last in this Land. I seem to have a grater detest to stop then ever since Mary has acted as she as. Bro and Sis Hatton desires to be rembered to you as also Bro North, Bro Chase, Farthe and Mother. I ham well. I hope you and the Children is well. Give my Love to Bro Farnsworth and Family. I must conclude now. Praying for your Prosperity I remain your Affectnate Husband

James Oakey

Tell the Bro and Sis that Folks is all well as far as I know but Bro Naylor went last Munday to have his leg Cut. He is going on middleing.

Here are some comments on James' letter.

Elizabeth Raynor Hatton was married to William Hatton, a framework knitter in Hyson Green. They had been among the very first in Nottingham to be baptized into the Mormon Church. At the time of the letter they had four living children ages three to 17. The family did not emigrate for ten more years, eventually ending up in Provo.

Hannah Astill was an 18 year-old friend of Mary and Lucy who was also in the lace trade living at home with her Mormon parents, the sixth of 12. She had actually been married for a year and had a baby girl named Sarah Ann, who had been born April 2, just two weeks before the Oakeys had left Nottingham. She became estranged from her alcoholic, non-Mormon husband after her third child. Unable to afford passage to Zion, she saw her parents and siblings off to Utah a decade later in 1872. When Sarah Ann was 14 she was sent without family members in an 1876 Mormon steamship. Hanna finally made it with her two younger daughters in 1878 and married one of her shipmates, Joseph Shaw, seven years her junior, upon arriving and settled in Sandy.

Hannah Astill Simpson with daughters Elizabeth, Eliza and Sarah

Charlie Eliott was evidently a friend of James Etherington. This was probably the Charles Eliott listed as a Brazier (brass worker) in Wilford Grove, Nottingham in 1861. He would have been 20.

Honley is the town about 65 miles to the north where Mary C's sister Ann Jaggar lived with her husband William and daughter Eliza. James planned to send a copy of the *Millennial Star*.

The Joseph referred to here was Joseph C. Rich. I wish I knew what he had promised to James, possibly just a letter.

Buff is a mystery to me. This is obviously a nickname. It is mentioned several times in the Oakey correspondence and I believe Buff is a female relative, maybe a step-sister to Mary C.

Tom faithfully chronicled every single day of the voyage, which stretched out to seven weeks before the Oakeys set foot on dry land in New York. There was drama in every day and sea sickness in most. One night at 1 am the top gallant spar of the ship dropped onto the deck, awaking all passengers in a panic. Hampered by the storm, it took two days for the ship's carpenter to repair it. Mary C and many others on deck got a saltwater bath from a rogue wave, which sent torrents of water down the hatch ways. As the storm continued, the family was below and Tom related this comic/tragic scene:

I went and made mother and family some gruel, placed some out in some cans and on the seat. The vessal gave a heave and they all came onto the floor cans and all and as the floor was greasey it was a difficult matter to stand. I got mother up and she was holding mee a can while I pored some warter in. She lost hir hold, slipped off the seat and slithered half way across the ship. I and 2 more ran to help her up and slipped and fell also after a struggle. Wee got her up but she had hurt hir back we got into bed again.

On May 4 the captain's canary left its cage and had to be rescued, requiring the sails to be dropped and the boats deployed. The next day John and Rebecca Williams' boy Dan died after falling down a hatch. He was their only remaining child after having lost four other

sons within the last 16 months. He was stitched up in a bag, a weight tied to his feet, and slid on a board over the bulwarks after a short sermon and prayer by Brother Brown. On May seventh the first mate was found lurking around some of the sisters and received a "damning" by the captain.

Cousin Ted was constantly in trouble. First he became implicated by association with another lad who had been caught with stolen items in their berth. Then Ted himself was caught stealing cakes from the galley. Tom told the crew they could do what they wanted with him—he would have nothing to do with either of the boys as they were a bad pair. Brothers Lindsey, Rich, and J.S. Brown spoke pointedly on Sunday on the duties of the Saints on board to watch out for their own and keep from stealing.

On May 14th both of Sister Griffith's little boys died of fever. One was four and the other two. She had left her husband, who had been a great brute to her and greatly opposed to the church, selling their house to emigrate with her sister. The dead boys were sewed together in one cloth and slid into the sea. At the sound of the splash the young mother "...gave a sorrowing and went in and was very bad in the afternoon and night."

On May 16th a bachelor was missing from Tom's ward, but was found in bed with a young female. Two more children died the following day. That Sunday was a testimony meeting, but in the evening the Brethren preached strongly about the rule against young men entering the other wards after hours.

That same day the three apostles left Liverpool aboard the steamship *Kangaroo* bound for New York. Lyman and Rich were returning home, but at the request of Brigham Young President Cannon was headed to Washington D.C. to take care of some "church business."

It had been hard for him to leave Elizabeth and Georgianna behind. In his journal the previous night Cannon had written:

In company with Bro's. Lyman and Van Cott I blessed Elizabeth and Georgiana; Elizabeth was much affected. I have felt to sympathize very greatly with her under her present circumstances, though I have avoided expressing it. She has left her children in the Valley to come to this country with me in obedience to counsel. Now I was called away for a short period, and she was to left far from all her relatives and acquaintances, excepting those which she had made here, in a strange land and among strangers, with only her little daughter to be with her of her children. She bore it bravely and heroically and never indulged in murmuring or dissatisfaction and regrets. This has been much more pleasing to me than if she had repined and indulged in vain regrets. May the Lord bless and preserve her and Georgey and may their health be good.

On May 20th Ted was reported to Elder Brown by another young man to have "the disease of the itch on him." Brown took him to the doctor, who ordered Ted be put into the storeroom aft to be away from the other passengers. Brother Nelson and Tom took him bed clothes and a rug donated by the captain's wife. The next day someone sneaked into the family's quarters while they were all on deck and stole a nice piece of beef from them.

This proved to be important because everyone was soon put on half rations. Alfred and Sarah became sick in the night of May 22nd. That night Tom had a talk with Jim, hearing about the treatment he had received from Brother Farnsworth. Evidently there had been issues. Two nights later Alfred was burning with fever and Sarah had broken out in measles and was getting sicker. A claim that land had been sighted sent the passengers to the deck in a stampede, but it proved to be only a mountain-like cloud. Thirteen year old Alfred was raving that night and "cutting up some queer capers" including telling Joseph Rich that he was standing guard that night. Tom took Alfred to sleep with him. By the 25th Alfred was much better and Ted's itch had improved, but Sarah remained worrisome. The next day President Brown came to the 8th ward and spoke of trials and experiences in the gospel. On May 27 everyone had been out of rations for two days, but Mary C got a little bread for Hyrum from Brother Lindsey. Later that day the first mate was disciplined for causing a row with Lindsey and manifesting bad feelings toward the Saints. The captain intervened and the mate was rarely seen thereafter.

At prayers that morning a donation was called for as a memorial to President Brown for his kindness. They were nearing shore. Half rations were doled out. Unfortunately another gale blew up, which led to Mary C repeating the gruel slither. Their bags, which had been untied in anticipation of unloading, slid around as well, making as Tom put it, "their kind of music" until morning, when the family received 30 small potatoes as they sighted Long Island.

They had no way of knowing that the three apostles, though having left three weeks behind the Saints were already moored in New York harbor. There they had received "unpleasant war news," probably the Union army's loss at Bull Run. The emigrant ship *Franklin* had arrived full of Scandinavian Saints the same day, having tragically experienced 47 deaths on route, mostly children in a measles epidemic according to Christian A. Madsen, leader of the company. Upon arriving, Elder Cannon was told that he had been elected Territorial Senator along with William H. Hooper and assigned to lobby congress to get Deseret admitted as a state. He first visited with Horace Greeley in New York, hoping in vain to get his support for the proposal, but at least getting a pledge of no opposition. He visited the House, the Senate, and President Lincoln himself. Though deeply involved in the war, Lincoln was gracious and affable. Cannon's journal gives an informative description of the great president:

The President has a plain, but shrewd and rather pleasant face. He is very tall, probably 6 feet 4 inches high, and is rather awkwardly built, heightened by his want of flesh. He looks much better than I expected he would do from my knowledge of the cares and labors of his position, and is quite humorous, scarcely permitting a visit to pass without uttering some joke. He received us very kindly and without formality. Conversed some little upon Utah affairs and other matters. The number of our population was asked for by him. He did not seem to think that we were as numerous as we stated; but after hearing our evidence on the subject appeared to be satisfied. He was quite non-committal respecting our admission, having no wish seemingly to commit himself upon the subject.

All considered, it was a rather futile two weeks in Washington for President Cannon before he embarked on another 10 day steamer trip back to Elizabeth. He surprised her by walking in unannounced. Georgianna, now just a year old would not leave his arms, crying if anyone including her mother tried to take her away, according to his rather emotional journal entry.

On the 29th, half rations were distributed and the New York pilot boarded the ship. As the ship was guided the next two days to harbor, there was more trouble of some kind with Ted. The ship cast anchor Sunday June 1, then proceeded up the river with the Saints all on deck watching steamboats and feasting their eyes upon the Jersey shore. "Traffic chaps" came up to their bows selling food at exorbitant prices.

Pres Brown said that we must not encourage them for they was charging dobble the price for evrything. The children was crying for bread but the Elds would not alow me to by, so we had to bite the bridle til the next morning. I felt very weak and low, I think as bad as aney time since I came on board.

A meeting was called between decks in which to give instructions for travel onward to Florence. The price for adults was £ 2.10.0 and half price for children. When it was Tom's turn to pay for the family he refused to pay for Ted, who had again been making a nuisance of himself. Some had heard Ted say he did not plan to travel west with the family. With his mother's agreement, Tom held a long talk with Brother Brown, who told him Ted must go along on Mary's fare. Tom said the family was short of money and Ted was not thankful for what he had done for him, causing much trouble and disgracing the family. After prayers Brown came down to Mary C's berth for another long talk. It appears that the church had paid two of the Oakeys' fares. Mary C and Ted would use those, and Tom would have to pay the rest. He went to bed "very sick and low" and felt no better in the morning.

The Saints stood in line for the remaining rations, took their baggage by barge to Castle Gardens to customs where they were greatly relieved when only Mary C's bonnet box was opened and there was no duty to pay. At immigration they did little more than give their names through the grate to a man at a desk and do a lot of standing around in an ancient looking place which appeared able to hold 5,000 people and might once have been a theater.

Finally free, they found something to eat and a place to wash, and Tom and Ann explored the city on foot, finding a park, fine streets, and large stores. Back at the port Tom ran into two of his mates from home, who had financed their families' passage and were there to pick them up. Leaving Alfred with the younger ones, Tom took Mary C, Ann, and Lucy out again to shop, buying bananas and baby shoes, pineapples and raspberry ice cream and then returned to the children in the ship. Having sent their bedding ashore with the luggage they made do without them. It was so hot in the berths, Tom made his bed on a bench on the deck after he and Ann had stayed up until midnight viewing the harbor. Ted came in late, "...drunk and badley with smoking cigars and chewing and ect."

In the morning of June 3rd the family left the ship for good, picking up their luggage at Castle Gardens to take to the train station. Tom had asked Ted to save his place in line so that he could write a letter to his father, only to have to start at the end of the line again when he found Ted had wandered off. He wrote that it was a hard morning for him. Trying to save money, the family decided to lug the baggage themselves to the station, but before long Ted threw down his load and refused to go further. A cabbie stopped and offered to take them the rest of the way to the station for a dollar. With the baggage and family inside, the cab started off without Tom and without Ted, who had been talking with a stranger. Tom called to Ted to come along and ran to catch up, but Ted didn't come. He had been talking with a recruiter and signed up on a steam ship as an assistant cook to work his way back to England. They never saw him again.

The family successfully boarded the train and traveled comfortably on cushioned seats in lighted cars.

...everything seemes so fresh...and all conducted different to what theay are in England...we rode on the Hudson River R.R. all night...the most of us got asleep as we were very tired so we stretched ouselves out as we chold...we past through Palmira where the Proffet Joseph Smith found the Plates of gold.

They had transferred in Albany to the New York Central through Syracuse to Rochester, passing over the great suspension bridge, and viewed Niagara Falls. In Buffalo Tom met a chap from Nottingham in the engine shed. Transferring to the Great Western Railroad, they ended up in one of the worst cars. Tom managed to shift Ann, Mary C and the children into a better one. He slept on the floor that night with Jim and Alfred, traveling through Canada to Detroit.

Joseph and Charles C. Rich, who had been travelling with them, left the train in Detroit to visit friends. The Oakeys continued on the Michigan Central R.R. through Indiana to Chicago, where they barely made their transfer to the Illinois Central. Seven or eight of the Mormons were left behind. At Quincy, Illinois the family took a steamship twenty miles down the Mississippi to Hannibal, Missouri, where they boarded another train.

The American Civil War was raging at this time. Kansas and Missouri were wild and dangerous places, experiencing their own local guerilla fighting between northern and southern sympathizers. There was terrorism, mob action, and vigilante justice. The Mormons from England were aware of this and of course also knew of the persecutions of their brethren at the hands of Missourians during the previous decades.

Tom wrote that the rail line had been guarded by Union sailors and there had been a good deal of fighting. A young man in Hannibal offered to show Tom a train engine with 35 bullet marks on it from train robbers. Luckily the family boarded a night train to St. Joseph and slept through their crossing of the infamous state. There they left the train at 7 am. The measles finally caught up with the family. Hyrum had come down with measles on the train and by then had a serious rash, so they transferred him and Mary C early to the

riverboats to wait while the rest of the party spent time in the city until the boat left at 11 am with 700-800 passengers. The heat was made worse for the family because they were positioned right next to the chimneys. Tom wrote,

...the Mo. river is a large sandy thick warter and we had to drink it... and the warter or so we think made me very ill all day with the bowel complaint...we rode on and we saw nothink but woods on each side I was very ill in the afternoon and lay down. All the family was porley a little on acount of the dirty warter we whear looking out to land.

The riverboat labored upstream for two days,

...past Council Bluff, the place whire the Mormon Battalion was collected to gather 16 year ago. We past Omaha. Bro John Carlin from Beason came on board. I talked with him a little. About midnight we landed in Florance Nebraska Teritory. We got of the boat on to the landing place in the dark at night.

The next morning was Friday the 13th. Tom and John Farnsworth made a fire about 100 yards off the steamboat and laid a bed for Mary C and Hyrum. Later that day the Oakeys were assigned a place in the basement of a little red house, one of many that served as a temporary residence for immigrants waiting for their wagon companies to form up. Tom wrote that it already felt like a home that first night sleeping on the floor.

Florance N T U S America

July 12 – 1862

Dear Husband

After a long Silence I have got Brother Brown to write for me in order that I might inform you how we got along and how we have faired since we left you at Nottingham. In the first Place we all got to Liverpool and on bord the ship all right and felt first rate. But when Mary left us it was a sorce of great sorrow and greaf to us all but when we found that she was gon for a certentity and we could do no better than to leave her. We reconciled houre feelings as best we could and in Greaf we sailled away and soon all became very sea sick and some of us was not very well all the way. Sarah and Hyrum both had the measles and Lucy Alfred and myself was sea sick the greatest part of the way but the Brothren was all very kind to us which lightened our burdens very metearly (materially?) *We had an abundence of provisions but it was not of that kind that a seasick person could relish very well. Thomas and Ann Varney and Ted stud the voyge well. We was 39 days from the time we set sail till we cast Anchor in the Bay of New York. We neaver had eney rough weather worth speeking about all the way and it was said by the custom house offercers and doctor that came on to visit us that they neaver saw a moore clean and healthfull set of people come into that Port. We was Pleased to meet with Brothers Rich and Cannon in New York when we landed on the 2 day of June and on the 3 we took the train west. And hour Ted deserted us and we think that he went as a sailer back to England so that made one les in our Familey. We had first class cars to ride in nearley all the way and was treated first rate. We was 6 days on the Cars and 2 on the Steam Boat*

coming up to the point. Heare we found it very hot and uncomfatable but by the Blessing of God we was all landed safe here in the 13 of June with all houre Luggedge and there is 13 of us all in 2 siber (separate?) *rooms of a nice little Brick house. But I am sorey to say that shortly after we landed hear Sarah was taken down sick with the feaver or relaps of the measles so that she as been very dangerous part of the time but we think that she as taken the turn for the better. She can set up and begin to eate some. Lucy as been quite ill for a few days with the feaver but is now better than she was and we think in a few days she will be around again. And if it was not for the excessive heat I think my health is much better than it was when we was in England. All the rest of the Family and Ann Varney is injoing good health and we all feel in first rate spirits. And we have plenty to eat drink and to wair. We can get first rate ham 3 halfpenne lb. and Eggs for 3 cents pr doz and butter at 10 cents lb. Dount you think that we live now and can have a big goin when ever we like. Brother Brown is still makeing his home with us and has got him a first rate cow so we get first rate new milk from the tits and some of us is learning to milk and make Butter and wish you, Mary, Sister Burrows, old North, Buff, the Marleys – Mary Ann Amott, and a thousand others of the good Saints was here to injoy the Blessings of God in this the land of Joseph. I mean Joseph, Mary Ann, Tom Marleys, in a word you may say to all our friends and relations that we hav never repented comming but Thank God that we came for every think as been much Better than I expected. The Elders has all Been as kind as farthers and done that men could for our comfert. And we shall soon start on the Planes and if Brother Brown takes Charg of a Compeney we shall continue with him. All the word that we hear from Utah is good. Brother Brown Farther has been down to see us...*

Mary Cooper Oakey

In light of Tom's description of the difficult and stormy voyage, Mary C's declaration that there was never any rough weather worth speaking of seems strange, and not typical of her many complaints in later life. The whole letter sounds surprisingly positive and upbeat for her, making me wonder what effect upon the tone of it her scribe Elder Brown may have contributed. In any case it is gratifying that at this point Mary C had no regrets about coming. I only wish that her optimistic prognosis for Lucy and Sarah had been accurate.

The family spent June 14 organizing their little house and cleaning up after eight weeks of travel. In their turn they were called to the church store to register and pick up provisions, which included 96 pounds of flour, 12 of bacon, six of sugar, and apples, tea, soap, and soda for baking. Then Tom went to the outfitting store and bought supplies including a very American item: a Levi vest for a dollar.

On Sunday, June 15 Tom brought out his white trousers and blazer to visit church services near the Danish Camp. The next day the girls went to sewing.

Monday Brother Brown's father visited them. Rather than follow young James S. Brown and the waves of wagon companies heading west in 1849, Daniel Brown had moved the remainder of his family 30 miles north from Florence, building a 2 room log house and homesteading 160 acres, and acquired 80 acres of timber. His place eventually became Calhoun Township. There was lots of travel going by, which led him to build a hotel, stables for stage coach horses, and other businesses. He quickly became rich, and as the family later wrote, "careless," falling away from the church. Though James had probably stopped by to visit on his way to England two years previously, this would likely have been only their second reunion in 15 years. [61]

Both Browns went to Calhoun the next day. Elder Brown did not return for ten days.

During that time Sarah remained sick. Tom spent his time exploring. He went to Omaha with Jim and bought a knife for a dollar and tried out a gun that was for sale, getting into "a scrape" for firing it too near the settlement. He walked to the creek, to the Danish Camp, took strolls with Ann, and wrote letters.

When Elder Brown returned, Sarah was worse. On June 27 Tom stayed home attending to her. Following the suggestions of neighbors he tried laying charcoal on her belly to relieve the cramping, then a cut chicken and "maney other things," all to no avail. They thought she would not live much longer. He was home tending her the first three days of July, then borrowed a horse to ride to Omaha to get her oranges for the inflammation in her bowels "as she was very bad." Lucy got a day's work at the Willet house—at this point she was still well. That evening Tom and Ann watched a boat land with 1,000 Saints.

On Independence Day there was a great celebration. Tom got an offer from a young man working with Zilla Greensmith[62] to help him to drive 55 head of cattle to a feeding place. The cattle got mixed up with another herd giving the novice cowboys a big job separating them and returning them for the night. The owner of the horses made a bargain with Tom for a musket, which after evaluation by Elder Brown wasn't worth the space it would take

[61] Elder Brown's mother visited him later in 1869 as soon as the railroad to Utah opened service, staying with him in Ogden for three months and receiving her endowment. His youngest brother Jerome came to live in 1870. In 1873, when rich old Daniel Brown fell ill and was advised by his doctor to move to Denver for his health, he went to Utah instead. James told him he could only regain his health by being re-baptized, which he did, perhaps not fully for all the right reasons. After he recovered, Charles C. Rich, his son's lifetime friend, saw Daniel off, correctly predicting that he might become "ashamed" of his baptism, warning him to be faithful. The temptation came as predicted, but Daniel repented and died in the faith in Calhoun, Iowa on February 2, 1875.

[62] Zilla Greensmith was an orphan who was raised by her grandmother in the gatehouse of the Nottingham Castle. She joined the church as a young woman. After her arrival in Salt Lake City she married William Birkenshaw, who was born in Heanor, which is only 3 miles from Brinsley where Mary Cooper was born. After he immigrated in 1861 he became a stonemason and contractor and probably worked with Tom Oakey. Birkenshaws lived in the 9th Ward in Salt Lake at 524 E. 5th South and owned another house two doors down the street. According to their family history, they often took people in who needed shelter including Mary Oakey and her daughter Lucy Ann. In May 1880 this couple lost four children ages 5, 13, 3, and 8 to diphtheria.

in the covered wagon. Tom continued in the following days herding cattle and fencing for pay.

On July 7 another steamboat full of immigrants arrived at the same time as a lightning storm. A young man was killed on shore and two more were injured. Trying to keep the freight from going into the river, Brigham Young's son Joseph was injured. The boat had not been expected so soon, so the soaking wet Saints had to be crammed into already occupied houses. On July 8 Lucy fell sick. Sarah was not much better. On July 20 Charles C. Rich came to administer to Lucy. There was much worry over both girls.

The family began packing on July 18 to leave for Utah with most of the Nottingham Saints, but decided to wait because of Lucy and Sarah, and let their friends leave without them on July 21, delaying a few days to go with the Joseph Horne Company. Tom got the luggage packed, weighed, and placed in a wagon driven by John D. Graham.

John D. Graham

Graham had originally come to Nauvoo with the Southern Saints, possibly the very group rounded up for the trek west by Charles Crismon. As a 13 year old he walked with his father and pregnant mother, all but two siblings, and their slaves from a plantation named Hope in Pickens County, Alabama, joining a southern contingent leaving February 23, 1846. They arrived in Nauvoo that spring, just missing the main body of pioneers who had escaped across the frozen Mississippi. After a short breather, they pushed on, stopping at Mt. Pisgah where Charles C. Rich was the stake president just in time for the delivery of John's youngest sister. Sadly, the baby lived just long enough to receive a blessing and her mother's name of Sarah Ann. Both Sarah Anns died and were buried together. John D. must have learned of the tragedy much later; he had left for Utah ahead of his family with Charles C. Rich's wagon train, driving a freight wagon unassisted to Salt Lake City. The following year his father made it to Utah with two of the children, leaving three with friends to be brought in 1852. I'm not sure just when the slaves came, but the family writes that they were freed once they arrived in Utah and given land in Union next to the Graham family. John married Louisa Maria Forbush in 1860 and lived out his life in Union, in later years taking a second wife when his first one left him. It is not clear to me whether taking the second wife was the cause of her leaving. John and Louisa were evidently never divorced. He had a general store and worked as a teamster, generally a good combination. Louisa took in boarders. When he signed up in 1862 to freight the Oakeys he left Louisa and a six month old baby in the valley. He made a second trip hauling pioneer travelers a year or two later.

The next day they put Lucy and Sarah, both quite helpless, into the wagon and drove to a camp ground four miles out of Florence. Their brother Jim joined them. It had been intended for him to travel overland with the Farnsworth family, but Brother Farnsworth "...had not behaved to him as we whold like," and they took him in, probably disturbing the

rationing plan a bit, which would have future ramifications. The girls slept in the wagon and the rest in their tent that night. Lucy and Sarah did not do well. Tom sent Jim back to Florence to get things for them.

On Pioneer Day number 15, which for the immigrants was already a great holiday, the camp moved to a fresh place on top of a hill, which allowed them to observe President Murdock depart with two church wagon trains. They sat out a heavy storm in tents on July 25th. The next day Brother Brown lent them money for a bottle of wine, for which Tom went back to Florence. That night Charles C. Rich and Brother Graham administered to Lucy. Elder Rich, Joseph Rich, and Brother Brown crowded into the wagon the next day, worried about Lucy, who was "very bad." Brother Brown left with his independent company. Then the Horne Company with the Oakeys formally started their own journey in the afternoon of June 27, covering about five miles, and camped at sundown.

The next morning they got off early. It was rough on the girls.

28 Monday We were hurried up and we started by 8 o clock. The road was very ruff and maney hills and the waggon jolted Lucy and Sarah very much and Lucy wished and prayed for the waggon to stop as she was so bad. We passed through several small villages past 2 trains that were going to Florance.

They bought some fresh food as they passed through, then crossed the Elkhorn Bridge, losing an ox to drowning, and camped by a wooded area about two miles beyond the bridge. Lucy began to have trouble breathing, so Mary C took Tom with her into the woods to get her some yarrow. Finding none, Tom sent her back to Lucy while he cut some wood. Mary C was delayed getting back, having lost her way in the trees and brush, and arrived just as Lucy was breathing her last. By the time she could get into the wagon Lucy was gone. Sarah later wrote that she had been in the wagon with Lucy when she died. Ann had left a little earlier, not suspecting the end so soon.

Jim Kirk ran into the woods to find Tom. When they returned Mary C and Ann were bathing Lucy's temples. They lifted her out of the wagon and laid her out on the ground at her mother's request. Tom felt that she "looked a beautiful corpse." She was seventeen.

As the other men began digging a grave, Tom went round the camp to find boards for a coffin, but dark fell before much more could be done. They put Lucy in the tent for the night. Tom and Jim slept on the grass at the tent door, the rest in the wagon.

In the morning Tom, Jim, and Brother Singleton arose in the dark and retraced their path 24 miles back to town to purchase sufficient lumber to fashion a coffin worthy of Lucy. It cost them 35 cents. Tom made the best coffin that he could, lining it with grass that was as long as the box, below and above her, and they followed her to the grave. After a word of comfort and a prayer she was covered and Tom erected a post which he had cut before she died, I suppose in anticipation, and a board with her name on it. The grave was 5 to 6 feet deep, lay on the left side of the road and opposite the 44th telegraph post on the far side of

the Elkhorn Bridge and 44 yard south of the left side of the post. He marked the board: "L. O. 62," and entered these words in his journal:

We got all that we cold for her and she was Buried very comfortable concidiring all things. And the wagons moved on and we left the grave. We traveled on 14 miles and campt at Night.

On a trip to Omaha in 2017 my son Adam and I resolved to find the spot where Lucy had been buried 153 years earlier. Realizing that the bridge currently crossing the Elkhorn River was relatively modern, we searched in vain for a map or book to reveal the location of the early crossing. A helpful man in round glasses and a tweed jacket tending the remote and infrequently visited historical library dug into a dusty file until he came up with a newspaper story from about 1880 documenting the wreck of a train carrying farmed fish, which upended in the Elkhorn while crossing the old bridge, temporarily disrupting telegraph services. For us, this dated that particular bridge to before 1869 when train and telegraph services were extended westward. From there it was relatively easy to follow Tom's careful description to the grave's location. We even found some ancient fallen telegraph poles and glass insulators. With a fair degree of confidence we reverently stood and photographed the likely spot. No grave marker remains, nor do the woods, only a cornfield.

On July 30 Alfred fell sick, but Sarah was much better. She had been continually and alarmingly sick for six weeks.

They covered 20 miles some days. They held services on Sundays. On August 2, Tom posted another letter to his father at Wood River station and took a long overdue bath in the Platte River.

On August 8 Tom and his mother divided the rations to eat independently because they could not agree. Tom and Ann traveled in one wagon with the Kirks while Mary C and the children were with Graham. Some of the disagreement might have been menu issues, but at the heart of it was that Mary C insisted on dividing equally by the number of persons in each party while Tom felt adults required more than the children. Tom wrote: "I had concidrebal trubble with her and Ann and a good Row at Night Round the Waggons." It sounds a little embarrassing.

They crossed Elmer Creek and Buffalo Creek through buffalo country. On August 12 they buried the sister of the Jones boy who had been buried the same day as Lucy. It appears the wagon master distributed rations about every 8 days, half portions for the children under 10. They crossed Skunk Creek and Pawnee Spring, the best water they had had. Then Bluff Creek and North Fork.

Sarah wrote only two brief paragraphs about the trek in her autobiography:

I walked practically all the way across the plains. We often thought of the home and many comforts we had left in England after a long day's travel. As soon as the oxen stopped, the boys would hurry and scout around for wood--a bonfire would soon cheer us and we would

see Mother getting supper, which usually consisted of bread and bacon, and occasionally rice and potatoes. After supper we would hear a bell ring, and Captain Joseph Horn would call everyone to prayer. All joined in singing--and afterward they formed themselves in groups and again sang the songs of Zion and then danced.

After Sarah's death in old age, her daughter Mamie Sirrine and granddaughter Helen Bateman wrote a brief biography in which they passed along these details as they recalled hearing them from Sarah:

John Grayham was proud of his oxen and determined to arrive in the Salt Lake Valley with fat oxen. This was his business and he made several trips. He made them walk and when they followed behind the wagon in the shade and put their hands on the wagon he whipped their hands and said it was as bad as riding. Sarah, eight, and Hyrum, two and a half (three in November) *were great little singers and Alfred could play the banjo. They delighted the other more affable wagon masters, who perched them high on the driver's seat beside them for many a long hot mile while they sang for their rides. But Mother Mary, exhausted from walking and ill, dropped behind the company to rest a bit and was too tired and sick to catch up. When the wagon train stopped at night to make camp and she was missed there was a great excitement and riders hurried back to find her about to be attacked by wolves. After that incident she was permitted to ride more on the strict orders of Captain James Horne. Mr. Grayham walked himself and sometimes carried Hyrum on his shoulders to lighten the load for his oxen...*

On the 17th Tom felt ill. There was more friction with Mary C.

I wanted mother to let mee have some of my Rations dried Happles but she would not. We had nothing but Bread and fat Bakan and tea. I was so sick that I cold not eat it. I had to walk all day very sick and the dinner I had was Bread and Watter.

Then came a gap of six weeks in Tom's account, resuming September 27. I'm not sure whether Tom had been too sick to write, had lost interest, or had lost pages. This would have been on the dry sage prairies of Wyoming. The last pages that Tom wrote of the trip were of the entry into Salt Lake Valley. On September 27th the party camped in a very narrow place with a high mountain on each side, which I deduce may have been Echo Canyon. They arrived at noon and did not move on that day. The next day was Ann's birthday. They traveled only two miles to reach Weber, a Mormon settlement, where they met Brother John Cook, whom they evidently knew. At camp that night in Silver Creek Canyon Brother Cook spoke to the group. They traveled the next day to Brother Will Kimball's home near Park City at what is now Kimball Junction, where the group settled all their accounts. If this was not in the brand new Kimball Hotel, which was completed sometime that year, they would have at least seen the construction project. Tom signed a note for the cost of the family's passage, $276.77. Then they separated their clothes, which precipitated another row with Mary C before Tom and Ann attended a dance at Brother Kimball's home.

The next morning they passed over the summit and camped in Parley's Canyon. The friction in the family sputtered on. Tom wrote, "Mother stole my little coat." The boys put up their tent inside a corral that night, either more comfortable sleeping on manure than canyon rocks or they simply could find no other spot. The canyon wind was rough on them.

Oct 1 Before day Break we whire called up and Before Breakfast. The cattle whire in and we had to hurry to get all in to line. We had to go about 12 miles Before we Reached the City. I and Ann walked to gather and when we came out of the mountains we saw the city wich we had traveled 8,000 miles to Reach. ...we got in...at noon and fixed our tent on Public Square.

Tom and Ann settled in Salt Lake City upon arrival according to the brief account of his life, which Sarah wrote at age 80. She wrote that they were married in December, 1862. Many family accounts have doubted this, claiming that they must have been married during their trip from England a short time after they had announced their engagement to the anxious throng gathering on the *Boyd*, probably not immediately, since they were quartered separately, but at latest on the trail. There was certainly sufficient priesthood power available to have accomplished it. But Sarah was correct. In the top margin on the page for December 7th of a 1912 pocket calendar kept by Tom to record business expenses he noted his 50th anniversary. In a ledger book kept by Sarah in 1925 was a notation of Tom's birthday. Below it was written "married by Elder Busbee."[63]

They were not married in the endowment house, not then nor ever. Later this became a concern for Lucy Ann, Tom's first daughter who was born a year later and named for her Aunt Lucy who died at Elkhorn. Family letters show that as an adult herself, Lucy had urged Tom and Ann to get sealed. But it had not happened when Ann died of breast cancer in 1919. Afterwards Lucy Ann offered to take Tom in his old age to the temple and stand in proxy for her mother. That didn't happen. Tom and Ann Oakey were sealed posthumously with Lucy Ann and an unknown male acting as proxies on Dec 7, 1922 in the Salt Lake Temple on what would have been their 60th anniversary.

The Oakeys stayed in Salt Lake City for a few days at the home of the first wife of Charles C. Rich, Sarah "D" as she was called until the apostle sent a team to bring them to his home in Centerville, where they stayed while he and his son Joseph Rich finally laid aside the mantle of missionary work. The Rich's had been drying peaches and Sarah thought she had never seen so much fruit. The three youngest of the apostle's wives lived there (the other three lived in Salt Lake City), so there was plenty of company for the Oakeys. Fourteen Rich children between the ages of two and 16 were living in Centerville to entertain Hyrum, Sarah, Alfred, and Jim. Most of them would end up growing up in the same ward when they had all moved to Paris, Idaho three years later.

[63] This was likely Joseph Busby, born in 1810. Busby had been ordained a seventy in Nauvoo, served missions in the Eastern States in 1844 and in the Society Islands in 1849. In 1863 he was living in Salt Lake City, working as a farmer and later as a foreman in the Utah Territorial Legislature.

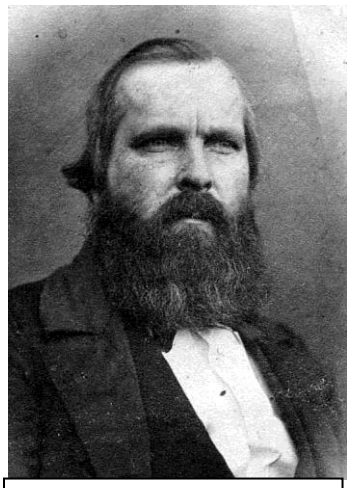
Joseph Rich went to Salt Lake City, where his mother lived. Sarah wrote in her old age, that Charles Rich had had her sister Lucy sealed to himself when he returned from his mission. That would likely have required the permission of the Oakey family, so Sarah would have known about it. The church's great tree of the human family on FamilySearch does not show this endowment any longer, but I can verify having seen the record of this sealing with my own eyes on the now defunct New Family Search. Unfortunately, it has been lost or deliberately removed and I can no longer find it. As I recall, the sealing did not happen immediately after his mission, but later, sometime after he had married Ann Hunter in 1869. So, Lucy was a second wife.

Joseph C. Rich

On October 7, James sent a letter to the family in care of Joseph Rich in Salt Lake.

Skinner St Mansfield Road Oct 7 – 62 Sunday

Dear Wife, I now take up my pen to write you a few lines to inform you how I am getting on. I hope by this time you have rested yourself after your long and teageaus (tedious?) *jorney which I know has been a hard one. I hope you will rest yourself contented till I come and do the best you can with the Childeren. I do often think of you all and wounder how you are getting on. I am well and getting on just about the same as when you was hear so I hope by the Blessing of God I shall be able to make the trip next year. I hope you will send me word how you are getting on and whear you are stoping and whear I must direct your letters. You sent for my likeness but I did not send it last time I wrote but I have had it taken and I sent you a coppy of it.*



James Oakey 1862

Mary is feeling better than she was. She is attending the meeting often. We had a party at the Arboretum on Friday Oct 3 and Mary and Jim was theare and injoyed themselfs first rate. Buff came in at the same time. She has been to Newark to learn dress makeing. She as been Ill a little since she as been heare but she is better now. She is going back to Newark tomorrow Munday. Mary and Buff was at Tea with me on Sataday. They both send thare very kind Love to you and all the Children and All inquiring Friends. Buff intends coming next year. I do not know how it will be with Mary yet wheather I shall be able to get the means for her or not. She wants to come if the way opens up for her. Sis Whiteman intends coming next year.

My Mother is very Bad. She seams to get worse every day now. She sends her kind Love to you all. My Farther seames to be weakened down very much lately. He send his Love to you all. Marleys is about the same onley Maryann she was taken ill last Tuesday Oct 7, but she is

better now. It was another wind Egg.[64] They all desire to be very kindly remembered to you all. Sis Burrows as ad to Flet again. They now live near Lamberts Dressing Rooms. She is not well at this time. She is very tickly now in what she eates. She sends her very Best Love to you all and wishes she was with you. The rest of the family is well. Mr. Burrows is just about the same as when you was hear. Bro. North is well and we injoy ourselves first rate considering we are both Grass Widdowers. He desired to be remembered to you all. Bro Chase is still with us. He as had a bad could on him for several weeks. He as been to see the Exhibition at London. They have been takeing them for fore shilling theare and back so it is very Cheap. He desired to be rembered to you.

I have ad a letter from Rosey at Liverpool and she said that her Brother Ted has been there to try to persuade her to leave Sis. Cannon's but she said he would have hard work. She said he is at Liverpool every week. She said she likes the Place and they liked her. I have ad a letter from Honley with an invitation for Mary to make them a visit. They was all well. I ansured the letter. Tould them Mary could not come as she was short of work. I have ad a letter from Green Hill Lane. Your sister was not very well. I have not heard from Harrogate since I wrote you. Seleaner as gon to live at Old Radford next door to Crowsons so I have not seen her for some time as she neaver call to see me. Bro and Sis Marriott that I live with desire to be rembered to you. Give my Love to all you see that I know and accept the same yourself from your Husband James Oakey.

Let me help to parse that letter.

There is that name Buff again. Who is she? This name appears in two letters from James, one from Mary C and once in Tom's journal, all in 1862. We know that Buff is a female. Since Buff is likely a nickname and is never given with a surname, she must be either a very close friend or a family member. She is likely a Mormon for two reasons: she wants to come to Utah next year and Mary C puts her in a list of church members to say hello to plus "a thousand others of the good Saints." She seems to be single and free to travel. James says she "went down home Monday but I don't think she will stop" and "going back to Newark where she has been learning dressmaking." She is probably young, possibly a friend to Lucy and Mary. She went to tea with James and Mary and she sent a note for Lucy. My best guess: she might be a younger sister to Selina, both half-sisters to Mary C. The problem here is that the Coopers (with the exception of Sarah's son Robert, "cousin Bob" mentioned in Levi's letter) were not members of the church. In the 1861 census Mary C's stepmother Ann Cooper, a widow, was living with an unmarried daughter named Ann Sophia, age 24. She, I suspect, might be Buff. There are problems with this: Ann Sophia was not LDS to my knowledge and she probably never emigrated because she is not in FamilySearch. Worse, she has a documented older sister with exactly the same name, for whom I can find no indication of having died, thus allowing her name to be re-used. I'll keep trying...

[64] A wind egg is one without a yoke. The term has been used metaphorically to connote a useless, fake, or aborted effort.

Who is Brother North, or "Old North," as Mary C calls him? Actually William North, a lace worker, was about Mary C's own age. He was a lodger next door to Oakeys on Skinner Street in 1861, separated from his wife Sarah, who was a schoolmistress living elsewhere in Nottingham with their two daughters, Angelina, 14 and Mary, eight. Their son John was in Nottingham in 1862—Tom mentioned in his journal that his friend John North stopped his cab on the way to the train station to bid him good-bye. John is mentioned many times in Tom's diary in 1854-55 when they were great friends, doing many church and social activities together, often with Levi Naylor. It appears that William North and Sarah never got back together. William is the "Elder North" who baptized Jim Oakey in 1855 and re-baptized him the next year when everyone in Nottingham seemed to be doing that. He also was the person to ordain James (Jim's father) a deacon. It appears that none of the Norths ever made it to Utah. William died sometime before 1881, as Sarah was recorded as a widow then.

This letter was sent via Joseph Rich in Salt Lake City, since James did not yet know exactly where his family was living. On November 17, 1862 Joseph forwarded it with a cover letter to Mary C along with some papers from Nottingham (I assume newspapers). He invited her to visit him in Salt Lake when she could. Evidently having promised to write to her daughter Mary, he apologized for having not yet done it, and would shortly attend to the matter.

District Conference was held in Nottingham January 17, 1863 with George Q. Cannon presiding. The missionaries Robert Pixton[65] and J. D. Chase were there. Henry Amott was "nominated for the ministry" as a traveling elder. James Oakey acted as clerk throughout the day.

James' next letter was undated. It was definitely written after his mother's death on November 26, 1882, for he mentioned the event in his letter. The family had not informed James' sister Betsy about their mother's passing—Betsy had been hospitalized in Leicestershire for many weeks and they were afraid to give her the bad news. He recommended that if Mary C planned to answer this letter she should send it to Florence, Nebraska rather than to Skinner Street. Calculating four weeks to take mail each way, this suggests he might have been within two months of leaving, which could have been around March, 1883.

Much of the letter concerned emigration. He mentioned many who would likely not make it to Zion in 1863 including Buff, Sister Hatton's daughter Mary, and the Burrows family, who had no chance, but were hoping to get Sister Burrows' father off. Mrs. Whitehead and William North, who was still living in the Oakey house on Skinner Street, were preparing to come. James was still hoping to bring his father, James Sr., and their daughter Mary, who had moved back home because she had no work. She had not yet married Jim Etherington and had said she was willing to leave him to come with her father next year. But James

[65]Personal note: Robert Pixton happens to be my third great grandfather on my *father's* side.

presciently warned the family not to fret if Mary backed out. Jim Etherington and Mary's Aunt Selena, Mary C's half-sister (he called her Saleaner) were doing all they could to get her to stay. He was content to have done the best he could. Selena was on the warpath. James wrote:

Saleaner sent for the last letter you sent so I sent it by Mary and I called for it after a wile and she did carry on at a pretty rate. She wanted me to stop and send for you back. She said you was not contented so she wrote a long letter to put in mine, but I cannot send it as it would make it overweight (and upset Mary, I suspect.) *I hope you will send her one and let her know how you feel.*

I have had a letter from Rosey. She is well and likes it first rate. You need not fear about Ted fetching her away for she does not want to leave. I tould Br. Cannon when he was over and he said if Ted came again he would speak sharp to him, so I think theare is a fear of that.

James ended by cautioning Mary C that he would not be able to bring all the things she had asked for; there had been an article in the *Star* asking everyone to travel light.

This is the last mention of Ted in any journals or letters of the Oakey family. I tried all my genealogist's tricks to find out what ultimately happened to him or for that matter to his Irish father James Matthews. Their names are just too common to be certain. This is my theory: After Rosie and Edwin's (Ted's) mother died in 1859 and Rosie went to live with Oakeys, their father went back to Ireland. Ted went out on his own to seek his fortune as a 14 year old, possibly going to a port city in southern England to sign up as a sailor. Court records show that a 14 year old named Edwin Matthews had gotten into trouble for stealing and was arrested in Blandford in December 1859. The boy was described as 4'5" with dark brown hair, blue eyes, sallow complexion, very much freckled with a mole near the right ear, a first offender. This would have been soon after Ted's mother's death and two years before his trip to America with the Oakeys. My theory is that Elder Cannon had tried to rescue Rosie's brother from a life of crime by sending him to America. After returning, Ted tried to get Rosie to run away with him, but was turned away by the Cannons and he returned to Dorset. On October 17th a nineteen year old named Edward "alias Edwin" Matthews was admitted to Dorchester Prison for 14 days on the charge of "breach of peace." A former conviction was noted on June 3rd the same year. He was re-admitted December 19th at hard labor for the crime of poaching. When Edwin was 30 he sailed to Brisbane, Australia. The log reads "assisted immigration" which I suspect may be a euphemism for court ordered immigration. In any case, he was later found guilty in New South Wales, Australia on February 22, 1892 of stealing sheep and sentenced to imprisonment with hard labor for three years. However, his nefarious interests and talents may have finally served him well when he joined the military. On July 15, 1920 he was posthumously awarded a Royal Field Artillery Decoration. He had died October 23, 1918 at the age of 73.

Old adobe meeting house after renovation in 1910

Lucy Ann Oakey

The Oakey family stayed at the Rich compound until the boys were able to get work in Caseward, later Kaysville, building a church house.[66] While the work lasted, Tom came up from Salt Lake to help. I do not know how long Tom and Ann stayed in Kaysville, but it was at least until October 13, 1863, when their first child, Lucy Ann was born there. I know that they had moved back to Salt Lake by 1866. At some point Mary C moved from Centerville to Kaysville with Sarah and Hyrum, where they lived for a time in a dugout located in the side of a hill east of town, "a little east of Winals Saw Mill"[67] according to Hyrum's autobiography. Actually the mill built in 1854 by John Weinel, a German immigrant, was a flour mill, the first one built in Davis County. It was located at 175 Mill Road.[68]

On a small fragment of paper nearly missed in Hazel Dawn's letter collection are two curious notes. One side is a receipt dated October 2, 1858 from James to Tom acknowledging payment of £3 5 ½ for 46 *Millennial Stars*. Evidently Tom had been assigned to sell them in Nottingham and James, who was the district clerk, was distributing them to the young men. But this was evidently just scratch paper taken by Tom to America for later use. On the other side was this notation:

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[66] The "old adobe meetinghouse" was actually a substantial structure. Built from 1855-1863 it was used as a meetinghouse until 1910 when the historic Kaysville Tabernacle was built across the street. The old meetinghouse was renovated and turned into an opera house in 1910, which was torn down in 1951 to provide parking for the tabernacle.

[67] DUP marker on millstone monument in Kaysville. The Weinel Mill was built in 1854, by John Weinel, a native of Germany who came to Utah about 1853. The mill was the "overshot" water-powered type and was erected on Webb's Creek 1/4 mile N.E. of this site. Native stones were used for the walls and pines for its timbers. It was 40 ft. long, 18 ft. wide and two stories high. Ox teams brought the flour-grinding stones weighing 2,200 lbs. from a canyon near Bingham, Utah. This marker is dedicated in honor of our pioneers and Kaysville's first commercial industries.

[68] From Kaysville City website: John Weinel, a native of Germany, settled here on Spring Hollow Creek. He was a miller and was sent by Brigham Young to this area to build a flour mill, which was ready for use in 1854. One of the mill stones used here now forms the base of the flagpole in front of the Library. Another one forms the base of the front lamp post on this property. The tall rock structure to the east of the home was John Weinel's barn. When he could afford to do so, he constructed a two-story adobe home next to the barn facing the mill, which was south of the stream. John planted trees to line the lane. Eventually, Mr. Weinel purchased 60 acres of property around this site. John's wife, Ellen, was deaf but became known as a gracious hostess when they entertained or cared for those being baptized at the mill pond. Following John's death in 1889, Ellen moved to Salt Lake City and the property was sold to Arthur Smith, a farmhand who had worked for John. After John's death, Thomas Boynton, Mr. Post, and William Major were hired at different times to run the mill. Following Arthur Smith's death the property passed to his son, Hubert. In 1906, a strong east wind destroyed the mill.

Thos Oakey, James Oakey, Alfred d.o. (ditto?) *baptized November 6 by Eld James Paine. Mary Oakey Baptized by Eld Phelps November 6, 1852* (I think 1862 was intended)*. All confirmed Sunday Nov 9, 1862 by* (blank)*.*

It appears to me that the older kids and their mother were re-baptized once they arrived at Caseward. Interestingly, Tom's wife Ann was not listed among them. It makes me wonder whether she had ever been baptized, even in England. Her mother and father were not Mormons, although her Aunt Dinah and her cousin Levi Naylor were. Hyrum was too young for baptism then and Sarah was evidently also considered young although she had turned eight the previous March. She was baptized at age ten in 1864.[69] In April of 1864, Jim was again re-baptized and confirmed. They did that a lot in those days, I guess.

Jesse Dredge

Then they moved into the home of a man named Jesse Dredge, a Welshman who had worked as an iron puddler. In 1860 a year before immigrating to Utah, Jesse and his wife Ellen lost all three of their children ages five, four, and one from typhoid fever within a two week period. They crossed the plains with an infant daughter. There is virtually nothing written in the Oakey history and not much more in the Dredge records about Kaysville, and nothing about each other except in Hyrum's memoir. Jesse's family had been in Kaysville about a year when the Oakeys arrived, probably rescuing them from the dugout after the first winter. The Dredges did not move to Willard, and then to Malad, Idaho until the spring of 1866, so Mary C and the younger children were probably still living with the Dredges when James and the two older boys moved to Paris and when they moved up to join him. The Dredge's daughter who crossed the plains as an infant would have been about two and a half and Hyrum four when the two families came together. Dredges had two more daughters in Kaysville before the two families moved on.

On April 18, 1863 the reliable and venerable *John J. Boyd* was again in service for European Saints, sailing to New York this time with 775 aboard. James was not with them. I know this because of a letter he received in Nottingham written by his Uncle Barney Loundes from Derby on April 30th. Barney planned to visit James the following Saturday to bring a requested book and was writing out the receipts that Barney had promised, which he was sure would be of good use to James when he arrived at his destination, "...if he would only apply it to (his) own family... Lydia is trying to get on the cotton, but has only got 2¼ pound, but she is trying to get some more." Aunt Lydia was the youngest sister of James Oakey Sr., only six years older than James. I don't fully understand the Loundes' letter, but it proves James was still preparing to leave, and evidently getting some supplies from them for the trip.

[69] See page 15.

The Mormon Migration index lists the ship *Cynosure*, which departed with 951 passengers from Liverpool on May 30, 1863 and arrived July 19th in New York. James is not listed among them. However, New York Passenger Lists 1820-1957 shows a ship named *Cynssure* arriving in New York harbor on July 2, 1863. On board was a James Oakey, born about 1817, listed as a "last maker" and travelling in "upper between decks." It is easy to imagine that the writer mistook the word lace for last, and that this was our James Oakey. Despite the slight difference in arrival dates, I am quite certain this is a misspelling of the ship's name. Except for James, the passenger lists seem identical—his name was simply mistakenly left off the migration index.

The Cannons left England, too. From George Q. Cannon's journal for 24 June 1863:

My wife, Elizabeth, with Georgiana, and George, H. and in company with Elders Joseph, F. Smith(.) George Peacock and Sisters Hannah Howard, Eliza Lyons and Rosina Matthews sailed by the "City of Washington," for New York, en route for home.

The battle of Gettysburg occurred July 1-3, 1863.

James probably arrived in Kaysville in the summer or early fall of 1863. At that time the household consisted of Hyrum, age four, Sarah age nine, Alfred 14, and Jim 16 plus the two parents as well as Tom and Ann. Other than the construction work on the church there is no record of where the boys or James might have worked. However, in a letter written from Kaysville in 1865 to be discussed later, Mary C wrote that the family was sharecropping on a farm. Perhaps that was part of their deal with the Dredge family.

On August 23rd at a council meeting in the home of Ezra T. Benson in Logan, Brigham Young called Charles C. Rich, who probably thought he had finally put his missionary days behind him, to explore the Bear Lake area for settlement. On September 15, the first company of 32 settlers left Franklin, (then) Utah for Bear Lake accompanied by a company of Shoshones sent by Chief Sashakie as hunters. Thomas Sleight's group of 13 followed shortly behind. That winter there were 118 settlers in Paris. By March 1864 Charles C. Rich had moved his entire family there except for Sarah "D" Pea and her children, who remained in Salt Lake. He built six three room log homes for the families of his wives. The next month a log meeting house had been built. In May, Brigham Young and party of 113 others including a Deseret News reporter traveled to Paris and surrounding settlements, naming Ovid, Montpelier, and Bennington after towns in his home state of Vermont. Paris celebrated Independence Day with a parade, brass band, and homemade flag. There was a freeze the next day. Another early freeze ruined the wheat crop, a premonition of the worst winter ever recorded in Bear Lake.

The record of members of the Kaysville ward show that Sarah was baptized on March 13, 1864 two weeks before her tenth birthday by James Jarvis and confirmed by John Gailey,[70]

[70] Gailey was one of the 600 United Brethren, who were baptized in 1840 by Wilfred Woodruff. He was 51 at the time, a polygamist who operated a toll bridge across his swampy property in Kaysville for people wanting to get into the canyon. Barnes was the 30 year old postmaster. Alfred Alder was a blacksmith. Robert Bodily was a well-

John Richard Barnes, and Alfred Alder. James Oakey was re-baptized on April 14, 1864 by Robert Bodily, the president of his high priests quorum and re-confirmed two weeks later by R. Hyde and J. S. Smith. This would have been at least the third baptism for him. That spring there were about thirty other adults in the ward reaffirming the ordinance. Jesse Dredge performed a large number of these.

On July 6th James received two long letters in the same envelope. One was from his brother William, who expressed his antagonism for the Mormon Church. The other was from their father bearing his Mormon testimony.

In October, George Q. Cannon traveling by overland stage and passing many companies of Saints rejoined Elizabeth and Rosie in Salt Lake City. His daughter Georgiana had died while crossing the plains the previous year and the baby George Hoagland had died in Salt Lake 10 months before the apostle's arrival.

That fall James Oakey with his sons Jim and Alfred left Mary C and the two youngest children in Kaysville with the Dredge family and moved to Paris to establish a homestead.

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to-do engineer, who had sold his farm in South Africa after joining the church to immigrate to Utah. Rosel Hyde and John Sivel Smith were counselors in the Kaysville Ward to Bishop Christopher Layton. Hyde's parents had lived eight miles from Joseph Smith's family in Vermont and had been converted to Mormonism by the prophet himself. Rosel had personally conducted a train of immigrants to Utah in 1863 and was serving as a selectman or county commissioner.

Chapter 16

Oakeys Settle Paris, Idaho

Perres, March 6, 1865

Dear Wife

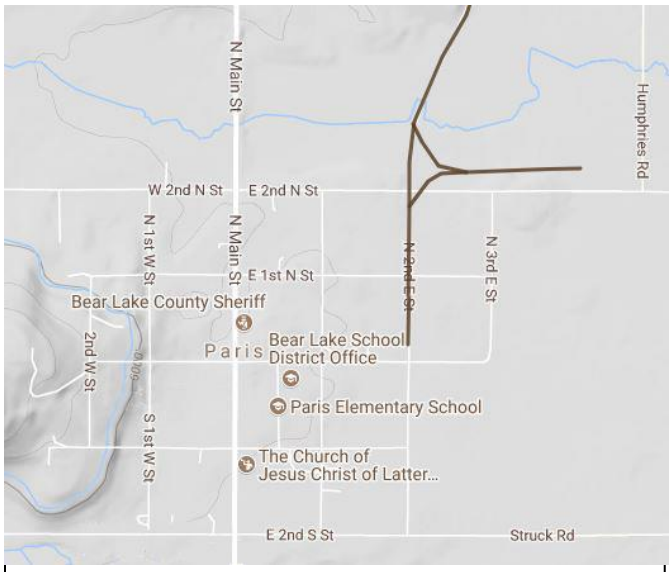
I now sit down to write you a few lines to inform you of hour situation. I receaved your letter on the 14 of Febuary. I should have rote sooner but they was no mail going as we are Snow in. That is they cannot travel with horse or muels the last Male (mail) *that we had a man had to fetch it from Frankling on snow shoes and it cost 25 cent a letter. I could not have got mine but Bro J. C. Rich Paid for it. And I was very glad to hear from you. And to hear you was all well. I hope you are still the same. We are all well and have been all the time. We should be first rate if we had plenty to eate but they is several things that we ar short of as the People did not rase much last Summer. We have not bean abil to get eney Pottatoes at all. We have got a few carrots and a few beets and a little meat, which consists of heads, feet, tails, tripe liver and etc. I wish we had killed one or tow of the cattle when we got in for they have died since, but we did not know that it was going to be such a hard winter as it is so much serveary than last winter. The snow is as meney feet deep this winter as it was inches Last. They said it was only 6 inches last winter. This it is 6 feet and a great meney Cattle have dided and a meney moore is likely to die as the snow is so deep and the feed is getting scarce. Jim went down to the herd last week to see how the cattle was going on. He saw Radey and he said she was doing as well as he could expect. He saw that lion Back ox. He look very Poor and wee have herd that he is dead since. So we have but one ox left. That is one of the white ones. When Jim was going down he met Bos coming up to the fort so I went to ask Bro Rich what I had best do. He said I had best try for someone to take her and feed her. So I went round to try. I got Henry Horn to take her at 2 bushels of wheat a month. They is one man charging 6 dollars in gold a month and will not take eneythink els. In a day or tow that white ox came up and I took him to Horns to feed. John Rich went down to the Herd 3 days since I tould him to Bring Radey up and he said he would but he is not com back yet and I will put her out the same. John Rich did not see Radey. I will try to Borrow a Horse and let Jim go for her. We have herd that one of the oxen is at St. Charles but we cannot go to see about it yet. I do not want you to get the figeats About us. We are doing the best wee can to Establish hourselves a home in this Valley which I beleave we shall. Bro Joseph said he will do what he can for us. He as been a kind Friend so far. I tould the Boys to write a few lines just as they felt so I send you there letter and you can judge of there feeling. They is no regler Grist Mill yet so they is a meney has to grind wheat in there Coffee Mills. I Beged an old one from Sis. Rich and fixed it up to grind wheat for us. I remain your Loving Husband as ever wheather you believe it or not.*

James Oakey

According to his obituary, James took his sons Alfred and Jim to Paris in November, 1864. It was after Charles C. Rich had hired the civil engineer Fred T. Perris to survey the town, which shortly thereafter became his namesake, creating blocks of ten acres with streets of eight rods, with ten one-acre lots in each block. The lots were assigned in such a way as to populate a whole block before another was started. This was a protective measure prescribed directly by Brigham Young[71] in his distinctive micro-managing way:

When you form your settlements get together pretty close, let there be at least ten families on ten acres of land. When you start to build upon a block (Brother Charles C. Rich, please remember this), have the brethren build upon that block until every lot is occupied before you touch another, that if you are attacked by Indians, one scream will arouse the whole block.

The Oakeys received one of these lots.



Paris Spur of Oregon Short Line Railroad

The location of James' home has been described by a descendant of his second wife as "the north side of Main Street next to where the railroad came through and built the depot."[72] She must have meant Center, not Main Street, since Main has no north side. The Oregon Short Line Railroad created a spur from Montpelier to Paris in 1911 and abandoned it in 1942 and neither the rails nor the depot remain in Paris. A railroad map shows that the track came down Second East and ended at Center Street. (One modern Paris resident told me that the tracks proceeded all the way to second south and then up Paris Canyon, but I think that is unlikely.) This was probably the house that was the object of the lawsuit[73] in 1897 over ownership when James and Mary had died. The railway and depot were not there then, but these sources taken together suggest that the Oakey home at that time was likely one of the north corner lots of that intersection with the depot on the other. From the property records of the Bear Lake County Recorder we know that James had owned city lots in at least two other locations previously. On May 23, 1892 when James was almost 75 years old he bought two adjacent one-acre lots on the south side of Center Street on the corner of Fielding Street where the County School District Office now stands for $500 from George and Annie Wilcox

The Nebekers

[71] Joel E. Ricks, *Forms and Methods of Early Mormon Settlement,* Logan, Utah, 98.
[72] Margaret Taylor Dorrity letter 1978 in Ann Carson KWJF-7YX memories, Family Search.)
[73] See page 243.

The Perretts

Nebeker. Two months later he sold a single lot on Center Street that was one lot west of Second East, right across the street from the house by the train depot to George and Elizabeth Perrett, the local butcher. I suspect that James' first house may have been the one he sold to Perretts.

Wherever he was when he wrote the above letter to Mary his house was probably similar to those used by the 30 families who had moved to Bear Lake the previous year,[74] a temporary cabin made of cottonwood trees with an earthen floor, a sod roof, and no windows. One of those first cabins stands on Main Street in Paris as a pioneer landmark, the home of Thomas Sleight and Charles Atkins, who with their wives lived in it together in 1864. It had a dirt floor of about 16 x 16 feet and a flat sod roof (the pitched roof was added later. You can see the notches for the beams to hold the sod on the second log above the window.)

James' letter suggests the violence of that winter, which nearly caused the downfall of the Bear Lake settlement. Though everyone was short of food, I have read no accounts of wholesale starvation of people that winter, although many domestic animals died in other households just as James had experienced. I have read that soup bones were passed for repeated use from family to family until no taste of beef was left. A woman and child who were casualties of a November childbirth could not be buried in the frozen ground and had to be kept in a snowdrift until spring for a proper interment. A large group of Mormons petitioned to abandon the settlement in the spring of 1865, but were deterred by the spiritual persuasions of Charles C. Rich. From his letter it appears that James shared the apostle's optimism that a successful home could be made there.

Probably in the same envelope came the following letter meant for Tom. If so, Tom and Ann may have still been living in Kaysville, perhaps doing the sharecropping that Mary C mentioned in the letter to follow. It appears that James was expecting them to join the family in Paris and help him to build the family house, and possibly to make their own home there. If Jim and Alfred actually wrote the letters James mentioned from "the boys," they never made it into Sarah's collection.

Periss, March 16, 1865

Dear Son Thomas.

They is a talk of a mail going so I set down to finish my letter. I was glad to hear from you but was sorre to hear of you bad luck with som Individuals but never mind that. Every man must

[74] Arrington, *Charles C. Rich*, 253.

have his day. We must do right and it will be all for the Best. I hope you and all the family will be in this Valley before long as it seems to be a good Place. They is plenty of wood, warter and feed. As soon as the Snow is gon they is plenty for the Cattle to Eate not like it is in Kays Ward. You want to know what sort of wood it is. They is Red and white Pine. Cottonwood and quaking asp and Mahogney. Not much Maple about hear but the others they is eney amount of it and a good Road to it when it is not filled up with Snow as is the case now. They is no Sawn lumber yet as they is no mill but they will be in the Spring when it comes.

I would like you to have a trip up in Spring. I do not know wheather I will be able to fetch Mother up early in the Spring or not until I have heard from Bro. Barnes to see if he can let me have some moore Cattle. If you see him you will see what he saide. I would like you to come when I have got som Logs to bild a house with, but I will send you word. Joseph will call to see you when he coms down but that will not be just yet for the snow is from 4 to 6 feet deep yet. Please to rite when you receave this and let me know how you are getting on. I remain your Loving Farther.

James Oakey

The "Brother Barnes" mentioned in this letter probably refers to William Jeffries Barnes, whom the family had known in Kaysville. He was the older brother to John Richard Barnes, the postmaster, who had participated in the confirmation of Sarah after her baptism. William was a framer, stock raiser, and freighter, who had helped to build the Kaysville chapel. It appears that he was involved with supplying animals to James Oakey and had been in recent contact with him. The fact that James felt that Tom might run into Brother Barnes is further evidence that Tom and Ann were still in Kaysville.

Although I have no information on James and the boys between their arrival in Paris and the above letters, there were a few significant events during that time. Unbeknownst to James, the Thirteenth Amendment to the constitution permanently had abolished slavery in the United States on January 31. His daughter Mary was married in Nottingham to Jim Etherington at St. Peter's Church on February 6, 1865.

The following letter was written or dictated by Mary C from Kaysville and sent to her assertive and independent daughter Mary in Nottingham. I do not have the original, but it must have once been in the hands of my late Aunt Mary Ida, since she transcribed it in her history of the Oakey family. It is amazing to me that it should have survived to come into her hands. It must have been saved by young Mary, carried with her when she eventually came to America about ten years later, and somehow passed into the hands of her estranged family in Utah. It is undated, but from the context it must have been written around March, 1865, after the worst of the winter had passed, but before Mary C received the above letter from James.

Case Ward Ut. Terr. 16

My Dear Daughter Mary,

I rite a few lines to you hoping that you are well. Not feeling very well my selfe at this time dear Daughter. Not being at home for a fortnight I am not able to say how the rest of the family is, being all well when I left home.

Sharing that she is not feeling well is gradually becoming par for Mary. If she was away from family members for two weeks, she must have been in Centerville with the Riches.

Father and Jim and Alfred went to a place called Barelake last fall that is about 2 hundred miles from where we live. I am not (sic) *expecting they will fetch me and Sarah as soon as they can. Sarah and Hyrum often talk of their sister Mary and wish she was here. James said in his letter you was about to get married and if you have done so we wish you much happiness and if you have not done so I would say to you keep single till you come out eare or about the time you mean to start for it is a hard journey to bring a baby.*

She would know.

"James" must be Jim Harrington, though I am surprised that he would write to the family. I don't think she would refer to her husband or father-in-law by first name in this context.

Dear daughter we have had a very severe winter not knowing how we are to get along this summer for I have not heard of your father of late. We have took this farm on shares and if it succeeds as well as we expect we will be able to do something for you, but we have heard of the Emigration being stopt this year and all the missionareys being called home. Dear daughter, for there is great confusion in the state. And we have heard of the saints having to Emigrate Caleforney Road.

You said in your last letter James was very kind to you. I hope he will continue so. I should like you to rite to your Uncle William and Aunt Ann and send me word how your Aunt Sarah is getting on and your Aunt Cassey and your Aunt Selener is...

If I could pop in and spend the evening it would be almost equal to the gospel. I want you and James to write me a letter as quick as you get this. Take care and I will assist you as soon as I can.

From your affectionate Mother, Mary Oakey

In April Charles C. Rich managed to get to General Conference in Salt Lake City, using snowshoes to reach Logan. The next week on April 14th, Abraham Lincoln was shot.

On April 24th James Oakey Sr. wrote from Nottingham that he had been forced to move to Dales' Row near Mary and Jim Etherington from his home in Prospect Place. At 76 years of age, he could feel "the decay of nature falling upon me."

James sent his son Jim to Kaysville to bring Mary C, Sarah, and Hyrum to Bear Lake Valley, and Cousin Rosa as well. I know this through another mysterious letter in Sarah's collection, a letter to George Q. and Elizabeth Hoagland Cannon. It is puzzling in several respects. First, it is hard for me to explain how we have this letter at all. It must have been

returned to the family by the Cannons, either with their reply or in person on a later occasion. Second, the letter is in the voice of Mary C, but signed "Sarah Oakey." It is not in Mary C's handwriting, so she obviously employed a scribe, as was her custom, not surprising in a letter to an important figure if she was self-conscious. But despite the signature, it seems unlikely that Sarah wrote it. She was only 11 at the time, and the writing looked mature and much different from Sarah's many letters. I can only assume that the scribe may not have known the family well and simply got Mary C's name wrong.

Kaysville, June 16th 1865

Dear Bro. and Sister Cannon

I take the opportunity of penning a few lines to you hoping they will find you enjoying good health. My health is not very good or I would have come down to see you. Bro. Oakey (James) *has sent James* (Jim) *down from Bear Lake to fetch me and the children. He said if I was not content without Rosa I was to bring her along. So I would like to take her along with me for I should feel almost as bad to leave her as I did when I left her in England. I have not felt to care so much while I have been so near to her and I thought she was useful to Sister Cannon as long as she had no hired girl. The children has scarcely seen her since she come in and they all want her to come and stay with us for a month or two anyhow and if she would rather come back to live with you after that time I shall feel it is her own free will and I shall submit to it. If you desire it should be so I would like for you to send a few lines along with her that I may know your mind on the subject.*

I remain your Sister in the Gospel

Sarah Oakey

Evidently no one saved the letter written by the Cannons in reply if there was one. Either way the answer was no. By this time Rosie was 13 and had lived with the Cannons for three years, about the same amount of time she had lived with the Oakeys. She had been with Elizabeth Hoagland Cannon in the apostle's absence during the deaths of both of the Cannon children who had been born in England and there is little doubt that she and Elizabeth had become bonded to each other. Perhaps Elizabeth was offended at the insinuation that Rosie was simply a substitute for a hired girl, even if it was true. Possession is 9/10 of the law.

It was probably late June or July, 1865 when 18 year old Jim loaded up his mother, his youngest two siblings, and their belongings and hauled them to Paris, leaving Tom and Ann and the Dredge family, who left Kaysville the following spring.

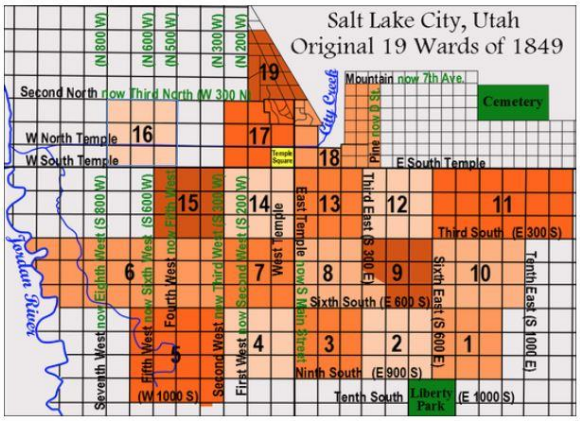
Regarding her new home, Sarah wrote around 1936 in her memoir, "We lived in a little log house, about where Tullers now live." I would like to know whether that was at a different location from the house that Margaret Taylor Dorrity remembered by the railroad. The first Tueller in Paris was Jacob Tueller, a Swiss immigrant trained in masonry, who had moved to Paris with his three adult sons in 1885 for the express purpose of building the

Tabernacle. There are multiple Tueller families living in Paris as I write. None of the current Tueller addresses match the site derived from the Dorrity letter.

The Oakeys farmed their city lot, but also owned farm land outside of town. I don't know where the farm was located. The land surrounding the surveyed one-acre building lots in Paris was divided into plots of five, 10, and 20 acres, and distributed by lot according to need. For example, craftsmen were given five acres, farmers more. There was a community corral for livestock and wild hay acreage was jointly enclosed and available to all.

No further descriptions of the house have surfaced, but it must have been a significant improvement on the temporary winter dwelling, and probably would have been similar to the cabins that Charles C. Rich constructed for his wives. Those were identical 3-room cabins built of logs which were not hewn, but stripped of bark, chinked, and then covered with a mud plaster. The roofs were a layer of willow branches, then straw, topped off with sod. The floors were the bare ground from which the sod had been removed. Each had a fireplace inside with a rock chimney. Brick homes were built several years later.

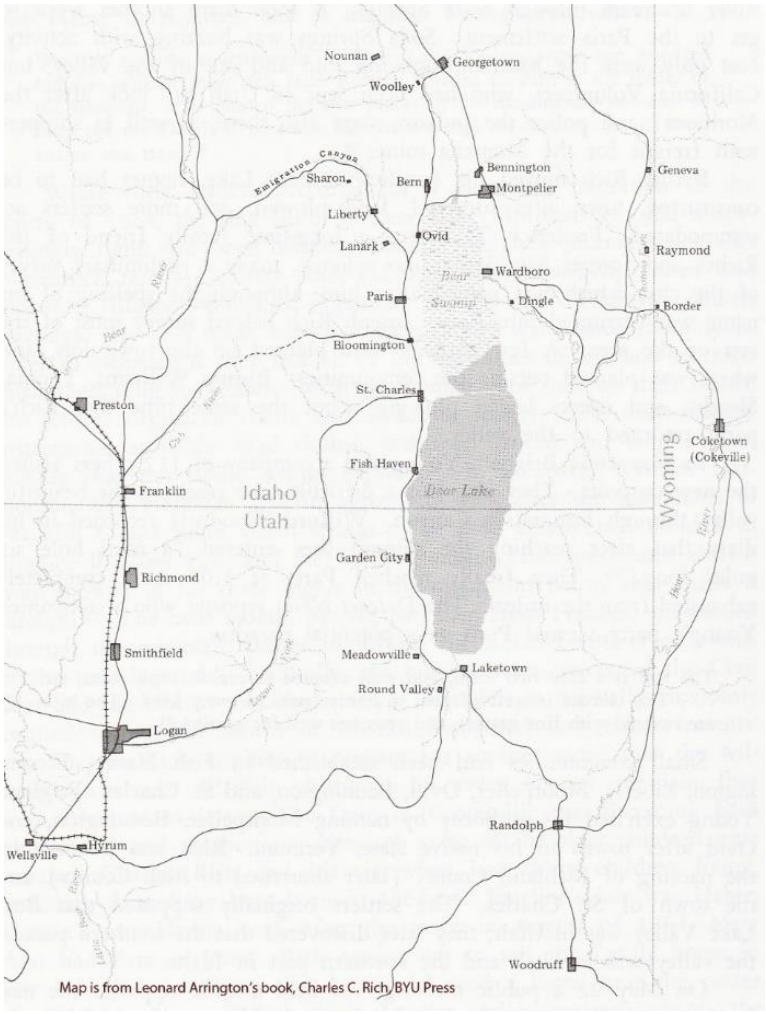
I assume that Tom and Ann moved temporarily to Paris that summer to help build the cabin as James had requested, although Jim and Alfred were fully grown and had building experience themselves on the Kaysville chapel. If they did, they did not stay. They were living in Salt Lake by October 11, 1866 when their second child Sarah Harriet was born. Sadly, she died 2½ weeks later of "inflammation of the bowels." Tom built a house on the east side of 300 East in the Salt Lake City 9th Ward, probably the sixth house south of Third South.



Tom's family lived there until he was able to build a house for his family at 515 South State in the Salt Lake First Ward into which he moved around May 23, 1881, though it was not finished until March, 1884. In August, 1905 his daughter Lucy Ann wrote that Tom and her son Oakey were finishing up a new house, which I believe was the one at 33 E. Herbert Street in the Liberty Ward just west of Liberty Park. He sold the house on State Street in 1910 to Christiana Sjodahl, formerly from Denmark, and later Manti, Utah, who had two unmarried daughters apparently living with her. She was a second polygamist wife, who was no longer living with her husband since the Manifesto.[75] Christina died shortly thereafter in SLC on November 7, 1910. In 1913 Tom was again reported to be working on a new house for

[75] After receiving revelation, the leader of the Mormon Church, President Wilford Woodruff, issued the Manifesto which was ratified by the Church on October 6, 1890, which led to the end of the practice of plural marriage in the Church.

himself and by 1916 his address had changed to 21 Herbert Street. Apparently he had built a second house on the same lot. In the 1920 census he was 81 and living at 945 Lake Street with his daughter Lucy Ann Evans. Ann had died the previous year. He probably lived there until he died in 1922.



With the building of the cabin there was plenty of work to occupy the Oakeys during 1865. But in addition to providing shelter, James needed to think about food and other necessities. It is clear from his letters that he was hoping to improve on the remnant of his little herd of farm animals that survived the winter. There was no need for lace weavers in Paris, Idaho. Any income would have been through the sale or trade of the animals they didn't eat, animal products such as meat, eggs, milk, and cheese, or other farm produce such as hay and by doing odd jobs. I suspect the boys also worked for other families. Hyrum's daughter Mary later wrote that James made bedsteads, chairs, and other furniture for the family and for sale. It was not until 1866 that the settlers of Bear Lake enjoyed a good harvest, enough to satisfy all including the begging Indians. Feeding them was important. All but four of the Bear Lake settlements were closed in the winter of 1865-66 to fortify against Indian raids. Things got safer for the white people in 1868 when the Indians were removed by treaty to the Uintah Wind River reservation. They continued to return in small groups for food, but did not constitute a threat thereafter.

Living among a community of experienced Mormon pioneer leaders also made church life different for the Oakeys. Although James had been the president of every branch in Nottingham, I have no evidence that he ever served as a bishop or stake president after leaving England. His obituary states that he was a teacher in the Paris second ward nearly all the time he lived there, so he may have participated in the first Sunday school organized

in Paris in 1866. He was a High Priest and was said in his obituary to have participated in Bishop's and High Council courts, so it is likely that he served as a bishop's counselor and high councilman. He was interested in genealogy and temple work, making trips to the Logan and Salt Lake temples.

On August 4, 1866 James and Mary C went to Salt Lake City, where they were endowed and sealed at the Endowment House.

On July 1, 1867 their daughter Mary and Jim Etherington had a baby girl in Nottingham. They named her Lucy Ann after Mary's sister who had died trying to get to Zion. We will call her "Little Lucy" as the Oakey family often did.

Sarah's letter collection is sparse during this period. Except for Tom and Ann, the family was mostly together, so there was less reason to write. Postal service was sporadic[76] and more importantly, the Paris Oakeys could simply not afford a stamp. They probably operated for long periods of time without a cent of cash whatsoever. Of those letters that were written, many were not saved, such as the one mentioned in the following quote. So there is a large gap in in my understanding of the two years before August 25, 1867, when James wrote this beauty to Tom and Ann in Salt Lake.

Peris Aug 25 – 67

Dear Son and Daughter

I imbrace this opertunity of sending you a few lines to inform you how we ar getting on. We are very bissey with the Hay and I am going in the Morning to cut som barley. It is not a very good crop. The grashoppers has made bad work with it but still it is a middling crop. We have A crop of wheat on the City Lot that looks prity well. The grashoppers worked it A little but that and that over at Eaden that the Grashoppers has not meddled with we shall get along first rate for bread stuff. That is, when we get it cut and ground into flour, but we ar very short at the present time.

I expect going over to Eaden on Wendesday the 28 to cut the wheat for it is ripe there. The stock is all well and doing well. I receaved A letter from you A little wile since but I could not ansure it being short of stamps. In it you thought of going to the <u>Gould Mines</u> that was started on Grean River. And them that go after it will be greaner than the river and not half so usefull. I do not want you to make yourself so low and mean as to go after Gould Hunting for it will make 10 men poor where it will make 1 man Rich and I know that you will be A great deal better off to stay at your work. You will get that 1000 dollars soner that seamed to be on your brain. I would sooner hear of you working on the new Tabbernackle than to hear of you going to the Gould mines. Nor I do not want you to tices nor persuade Jim to go eather for I beleave it is as bad as going to Hell. In fact it is nothing else. I do not want yu to think about

[76] Until 1869 the only exit from the valley in winter was by snowshoe. That year a mail contract was given out, but there was no consistent mail service until the Oregon Shortline Railroad was making runs to Montpelier beginning in 1882.

eney plugs from hear nor eney assistence whatever for that purpos. If that pertended friend of yours wants to go let him. I would sooner you would give your mind to the princleples of the Gosple and attend your meetings and live that you can have the smile and blessing of God upon you. Therefore I would say my son if sinners intice the (thee) *conscent not. I hope that tis short sribl* (scribble) *will sufise at prescent on this subject.*

Jim has been down with a load of Lumber but had to leave part of it on the road and sell it for 6 cents a foot. The other he took to Ogden and sold for 8 cents so he made bad out with it and it broke the waggon and used up the cattle so he will not go eney moore untill we get some of hour hone (own) *and a place to take it to and get the pay right of. I am sorrey you did not get the pay that I expected you would. You may tell the man at the wood yard that it was 2 dollers on the man's account that farms for D. H. Wells. Tell Mr Kidgbe that his bill was 11 dollers and he pade 2, left 9 to pay.*

I must conclude now. I will wright again soon. Write and send me a few stamps.

We ar all well. We hope you ar the same. I remain your affectionate Farther, James Oakey

Written during a period of which we know little, this letter is interesting, but raises more questions for me then answers. Let me break it down a little.

In his third summer in Paris James was poor, but getting by economically. "Middling" harvests are probably worse than the previous year but sufficient for the coming winter. They were short of food at the moment, especially flour, because it was not quite yet harvest time.

This letter confirms that the family was farming more land than just the city acre. I assume that they had a farm plot near the town, but "Eaden" seems to be an additional location.[77] The only place in the Bear Lake Valley on the current map with a similar name is North Eden on the east side of the lake just over the border into Utah. North Eden is on a little delta in the lake shore formed by runoff from North Eden Canyon on the east and is still farmed. It is an established fact that a similar area fed by Indian Creek on the northeast corner of Bear Lake was farmed by the Paris pioneers. However North Eden is 26 miles from Paris, and would have been very inconvenient to farm for that reason. I think it is likely that this is the place, nonetheless. The Homestead Act had been passed in 1862, so theoretically 160 acres could have been claimed there. It was only about 10 miles farther than Indian Creek and on the route used at that time by the Paris merchandisers to get supplies from Evanston, Wyoming, perhaps the very route Jim had taken with his wagonload of lumber.

Evidently the family had been exploring the business of exporting lumber to Utah, though without much success. It appears to me from the letter that James had decided to continue

[77] In the autobiography of Peter Christian Wallentine in *Memories* of FamilySearch he writes, "About the first of April George Lindsay, myself, and several others took our cattle and went over the turn pike to the east side of the lake, named Eden. I put in 5 acres of wheat which made a good crop."

producing lumber, but only for local use. About that time the pioneers were beginning to move out of their log houses into framed buildings, so there would have been a market for it.

More interesting is the information on Tom's work. I'm puzzled by the money owed to Tom by "Mr. Kidgbe," who evidently farmed for the apostle Daniel H. Wells. It appears to have been connected to the lumber business in some way. Of course Tom, who was a builder, would have been a consumer of lumber himself. I wonder if the reference to Brother Wells relates to the comment about working on the "Tabbernackle." As the second counselor to Brigham Young he functioned at that time in the role that was later called Presiding Bishop. He oversaw the building of the Tabernacle. At that time the building had been under construction for two years. If Tom were to start work there it would have been on the construction of the roof.

The most striking part of the letter, of course, was James' attitude toward Tom's ideas about gold mining. Showing emotion not often seen in other letters, it was amply clear that James was willing to offer stern instruction to his adult son on moral or religious matters. And actually, he was right. The mining activity on the Green River was between Flaming Gorge and Horseshoe Bend east of the Uinta Mountains, and never amounted to much.

Tom Oakey kept a pocket calendar throughout his life chiefly to keep track of his finances. Several of these are now in my possession including his book for 1868. In it he notes that he wrote to Bear Lake in January, March, and August. None of these letters have survived. He was also in touch that year with Ann's non-Mormon relatives in England. The only letter that I have from that year was from James Oakey Sr. written at Prospect Place giving the news about Mary and "Little Lucy." Grandpa Oakey had not lost his optimism, his testimony, nor his sense of humor.

Prospect Place

March 1868

Dear Son and Daughter, with pleasure I take the opportunity of hancering your kind and wellcom letter which I received in Febr last and was glad to hear from you and that you and your Wife and family were all well in health also that your sircumstances were improving. I hope thay will still improve and that you may bee Blest with all the blessings of the Gospel. I am now injoying as good a health as can bee expected att my Age. I now am in the 80 yere of my Age and I allso feel that I am growing more feeble. Still I can rejoice in the Gospell of Jesus Christ and in the Blessings of the Latter Day Kingdom and my Desire is to live so that I may receve that Reward, the Reward that the Lord as in store for the faithful.

I have seen Mr. Henery Roberts (James' former boss in the lace business) *and hee said that hee would write to you in a few dayes and send you all perticulars about your request. Hee said you had invited him to come over and go a fishing. Hee thought he better do so iff Mrs Roberts was willing. Your Brother William is now living at Sneinton in West Street near the market place. Hee as got some Mashins* (machines) *att a Steeme Factory and a wharping mill*

att his home. We've had lines and I offtimes Ask him how hee is getting on and hee says hee as no Reason to complain but how long that may continue is not for me to Define for wee are still having a grate fuss about Reform. Lord Dearby as given up the premiership...

I wish you would tell my granson Thomas that i think hee as forgotten that hee has a granfather living in Old Babelon or else hee is like the man that praid unto the Lord for himself and his son John and then said the Devell might take all the rest. Your daughter Marry as left Prospect Place and is now living in Horshard Street Old Radford. Shee says shee will rite to you and shee will send little Lucys likeness by som of the Emigrants. I don't know that I have aney thing more to say att this time, only to say that your brother and sister are well in health allso the rest of your frends as far I know and join in thare Love to you. Give my Love to your Wife and to all the Little Ones and except the same your self from your Affectionate Father

James Oakey

1869 was a year of great progress. On May 10 the transcontinental railroad was linked at Promontory Point. Two weeks later John Wesley Powell set out from Green River, Wyoming to explore and map the Colorado River, completing the voyage August 30. Brigham Young visited with Daniel Wells, John Taylor, and Wilford Woodruff to organize the Bear Lake Stake, calling David Kimball to be stake president. In the late summer the church leaders in Logan and Bear Lake agreed to build a road through Logan Canyon to transport stone for the Logan Temple accompanied by a telegraph line.

My Aunt Mary Ida described in her history of the Oakeys two more letters written that fall, which are now missing. Grandfather Oakey's sight was failing to the extent that he could no longer read or write, so Jim Etherington wrote for him on November 4th that he still desired to gather with the Saints. Jim and Mary sent their love. That same week the ever-critical big brother William wrote to James that it was shameful to entice their ancient father to emigrate and that it would surely be the death of him. Their father could no longer live alone, so William would be sending him back to Derby where he could live with his youngest sister, 58 year old Lydia Oakey Loundes, and asked James to contribute £ 5 per year to help care for him.

In 1870 a planing mill and a lath factory with a great circular saw were operating in Paris, permitting the Bear Lake families to begin building more conventional houses. Brigham Young called 50 more families to live in Bear Lake. It appears that at least until the end of that decade most families who moved to the region saw themselves as missionaries.

The 1870 U.S. Census was enumerated on July 26 in Paris, Rich County, Utah. In dwelling number one lived the stake president David Kimball with his family including his Indian daughter Veroqua.[78] For census purposes his personal estate was valued at $2,000, all in real estate, the same as Charles C. Rich, though the apostle owned 5 adjacent lots for his

[78] See p. 16.

wives. Two other citizens of Paris, the blacksmith John Sutton and George Warren Sirrine, Sarah's future father-in-law who owned the mercantile store, declared an estate of that magnitude. These were the richest men in the town. Joseph Rich was worth $1,000. The rest averaged about $300, the same as James Oakey. There were 94 families living in Paris at that time comprising 502 people, enough to occupy about 10 town blocks. Except for Veroqua they were all white; a third were foreign born. There were 20 more males than females. Five doors away from the Oakeys lived Richard and Keziah Davies with their 19 year old daughter Bessie, who would later marry Jim Oakey. Sixteen year old Irene[79] Pomeroy, one of Francis Pomeroy's children who was about the same age as Sarah, was living in the Oakey home only a block or so away from her father Francis Martin Pomeroy's family as a housekeeper.

In July Tom wrote to the family in Paris.

Salt Lake City July 20, 1870

Dear Father, Mother, Brothers and Sister Sarah

Tom Oakey in 1870

We Received your letter of July 9 today. I have not herd from you since Jim went Back to his job. I was sory to hear that Mother was still sick. I think Mother had Better come to us and stay a few months in the city and recruit her health. I am glad that Jim is in a good job for that is as good a wage as I am getting now. Was sory to hear of the grashoppers eating your crop. They did not hurt mee very much this time round.

I had my likeness took last week and I send my Mother one. I wold like mother to try to come down in about 6 weeks if she can but I shall write again before then. I was glad to here that my stock was increasing for I think that I shall need it if things keep on as they are. I have got work just now and I hope it will keep on for I need some pay. Lucy was quite pleased when we read the letter to her about her calf. She said you must name it Cherry. Tel father that I got word through Geo Astells letter that Granfather <u>was very sick.</u> Polly Berrows has gone to Echo. It is getting Late so good night. yours. Thos Oakey.

(In the margin:) *Write again soon gone 11 o clock I bought 2 pigs today for 5 dollars*

In 1871 the telegraph was connected to Paris via Franklin, not Logan Canyon as planned earlier. Joseph Rich was trained to be the telegrapher, a precursor to his newspaper career in Bear Lake. Ten years later he would establish the first Paris newspaper, the *Southern Idaho Democrat*, later called the *Paris Post*. 1871 was another grasshopper year—the harvest was poor.

[79] See pages 14, 16, 31, 57, and 72.

Around the end of 1871 Alfred Oakey went to Salt Lake City to work with his older brother Tom, perhaps because of the poor harvest that fall. We know this because of a letter that he wrote on April 4, 1872 to *Father and Mother, Sister and Brothers*. He had been working in a saw mill with Tom all winter. He wanted them to put out his horses in the canyon where they had ranged the previous year and urged the family to come to Salt Lake that summer. Alfred was 23 and Sarah was 18. Evidently Jim was still living with the family.

In England sometime in that year, Mary and Jim Etherington had a second child named William who died as an infant. On April 12, 1871, Tom's wife Ann received word from England that her seventeen year old brother James Varney had died.

In September a careful survey[80] was carried out which revealed that Paris was not in Idaho, but Utah.

On November 21, 1872 Jim Oakey married Bessie Davies in Ogden, where her family had moved to be closer to Bessie's parents and her mother's sisters.[81]

On April 24, 1873 Grandfather James Oakey Sr. died at his sister's home in Derby. Shortly afterward James received a short scolding in an otherwise comforting letter from his Uncle Barney Loundes, who along with his wife Lydia was his father's caretaker in his last days. Barney had not heeded William's instructions to keep Mormons away James Sr., but had encouraged it and thus ensured the comfort of companionship with Saints in the Derby congregation to the end of the old man's life. Barney came out of the experience impressed with Mormons and wished them well, and it appears that James Sr. died among loving friends.

Dear Nephew,

It was with great pleasure I received your communication—I had almost given you up as dead. I was surprised that you should so soon have responded to my inquiries after you. I had never had the least information of you since you left England. We could not draw any other conclusions from you silence than that you did not find things so pleasant as your sanguine expectations had pictured them and you would not send us any lies and did not like to send the truth.

We made all the enquiries about you that we could when I have seen Mrs. Pickering. I have always enquired after you but John (probably James' cousin, son of his father's sister Mary) *has seen very little of you for some years under father when he came to live with us and had*

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[80] See p. 15.

[81] Ruth and Eliza Wickins were sisters of Kezia Wickins Davies, Bessie's mother. They had crossed the Atlantic to Philadelphia together as spinsters in 1855. Eliza married William Henry Moulding that year in Philadelphia and then waited until 1861 to cross the plains to Utah. Ruth crossed in 1855 in the same company with Bessie and her parents and married William Samuel Brown in SLC in 1864. Interestingly Brother Brown came from Kimberly, Nottinghamshire and had baptized Bessie's future sister-in-law, Lucy Oakey in Nottingham on July 24, 1853 on the day her sister Mary had refused baptism, according to Tom's diary. Tom also noted the departure for Zion of William Brown and 16 others for Utah in 1854.

heard very little from you for some time. I did not know how to direct you or I should have wrote to you while your dear old father was living with us. When William wrote to ask us to take him he promised to pay five shillings per week and Bessy promised one. She paid four weeks, but paid no more. But William kept his word, and paid to the last, so that we did not feel it any burden to us. And considering his being blind and almost deaf, he gave us very little trouble indeed, so that we was none the worse for his being with us. When he came I told William that he would be in the midst of several of his friends of the church which he belonged to. But he hoped that I would not bother him with that, but let him alone, but contrary to my instructions I apprised several of them of his coming and he was visited by them...Mr. Alcock came regular every Sunday and they was with him in his last hour and he died in their arms. I could see that when he was visited by them that it was an enjoyment to him. So I know you will say that I did right. Mr. Alcock and Lomas was the two that was with him. Mr. John Lomas says he was personally acquainted with you and sends his best respects to you. He says that they do not muster very strong in Derby as they have emigrated so much from Derby and do not make proselytes as fast as they emigrate, so that makes them slack. Mr. Alcock left me a Star *every week and anything that I thought would interest your father. I always read to him, but since he died I have not had an opportunity of seeing one. So that any information that you can send now will be welcome as I feel for the thing to succeed. It was a great undertaking for the pioneers or the first emigrants and shows that there was no ordinary minds to accomplish so great an undertaking. When you sent me word that your opinions are not altered I am not surprised at that, although William would* (not) *be glad to hear of such a thing. I remember his remarks at parting with you. He hoped that should anything occur to alter your opinion you would appraise him of it. You smiled and promised him you would if you write to me again. You must bear in mind your communication will be shown to all my Mormon friends in Derby and I have several that I esteem, although we may differ in some religious points...*

Barnabus Loundes

On June 1, 1873 Alfred Oakey settled upon the NE quarter, section 14, township 14 south, of range 44 East on 160 acres according to his filing for a homestead a year later on June 12, 1874 with the Federal land office in Boise, Idaho. This is attested in a dog-eared, much folded, fragile document rescued from a huge moving box of papers in my cousin Camille's garage taken from the home of her mother Hazel Dawn Ream Curtis after her death in 2016. It should remove all uncertainty about the exact date of the expansion of the Oakey family from Paris across the Bear Swamp to Cottonwood. As Hyrum's daughter Mary Oakey Cook wrote, "...in 1873 Hyrum, Alfred and Sarah went to Dingledelle to live. Their father and Mother stayed in Paris a while, then their father went to Salt Lake for work and their mother went to Dingledelle to live with them...in a log hut built of cottonwood logs." In her own autobiography, Sarah's daughter Mamie Sirrine Ream added, "...(with a) dirt floor and roof...Later Fred and Hyrum built a log house." The temporary hut with cottonwood logs mimicked the style of the first-year Paris dwellings of 1863-64 as did the

transition to a log house. In this case, the log house was not built until five years later in 1878 as we will later find entered in Sarah's diary for that year.

The technical description on the document allowed me to locate that section. The quarter section runs along the west side of Dingle's main street beginning at Sirrine Lane, about 240 south and running south to the cemetery road, extending exactly the same distance to the west. The south edge adjoins a quarter section homesteaded by the W. D. Ream family over a decade later. West of Mary's quarter section lay Hyrum's, and west of Hyrum's was Alfred's, which was only ¼ mile wide, but a mile long, extending westward. Together, the three claims extended two miles west from Dingle Road. Along with two other families from Paris, the Alfred Sparks and John Grimmetts, the Oakeys were the first homesteaders to settle the Dingle area.

In the years to follow many pioneer families would move from Paris or Bloomington to the east side of the valley to homestead, often maintaining households on both sides and splitting family members, who had to actually live on the property to "prove up" and receive title on the land. The west part of the valley offered more developed communities and better land for farming crops. The east side offered unclaimed 160 acre homesteads for no more than the filing fee. The bottom land was often too swampy for cultivation, and the upper areas too remote for irrigation, so the main industry there was ranching and dry farming. As it turned out it proved a good fit for polygamist families—a place to conceal second families or for polygamists to hide out when necessary.

Chapter 17

James and Mary C and Ann

The Bowery, Paris, Idaho, Sunday August 31, 1873

Now, where a man in this Church says, "I don't want but one wife, I will live my religion with one," he will perhaps be saved in the celestial kingdom; but when he gets there he will not find himself in possession of any wife at all. He has had a talent that he has hid up. He will come forward and say, "Here is that which thou gavest me, I have not wasted it, and here is the one talent," and he will not enjoy it, but it will be taken and given to those who have improved the talents they received, and he will find himself without any wife, and he will remain single forever and ever. But if the woman is determined not to enter into a plural-marriage, that woman when she comes forth will have the privilege of living in single blessedness through all eternity.[82]

There may have been two thousand people from all over the valley in that outdoor summertime meeting listening to the prophet, whose vision to create the Bear Lake colony had directly affected every one of them. I can imagine James and Mary C sitting next to each other when Brigham Young told them pretty plainly that neither of them would have an eternal companion unless James took another wife in marriage, quite a shock. From what I know of them I suspect that it made James concerned about his eternal salvation, but made Mary C concerned about James. She figured that her devout husband would accept as God's word what for her was just a bad idea. As he had done so many times before, he would obey his priesthood calling. And as she had done before, she would drag her family in her own way across another wilderness without him.

The family legend is that James promptly went to Utah and came back with a second wife in his wagon, so Mary C left the marriage and moved the kids across the valley into a dugout and raised them in Dingledelle on her own. That is sort of true, but oh, the story is so much more complicated and interesting than that. There are many gaps in the record, but I will show you what I know and hope we can imagine the rest together.

First, let me point out that the Oakey children had already occupied a spot to homestead in Cottonwood two months before the Prophet's bombshell. Their idea was to put up a temporary house, make good on the claim, and add 160 acres of pastureland to the Oakey estate. They were the first, but many Paris families would do the same.

Second, James' second marriage did not follow immediately after the fateful sermon. He married Ann Carson Taylor more than a year later on October 12, 1874.

Third, Mary C did not flee in anger to Cottonwood. More likely she fled in anger to Salt Lake. It is even possible that she was in Salt Lake City for the marriage. She was there after

[82] Brigham Young, *Journal of Discourses*, Volume 16, discourse 22, 160-171.

the wedding for at least six months, and possibly as long as three years, and did not join her children in Cottonwood as her permanent home until the fall of 1878, when they had completed a permanent cabin there.

As you will see, over their subsequent lives sometimes all three members of that complex marriage relationship lived in the same town, though as far as I can tell, not in the same house. Sometimes all three lived apart. All three lived for months, possibly years at a time in Salt Lake City. James lived most often with Ann, but on at least two occasions, he lived with Mary C, apparently in happiness or at least in harmony. Most of the time we simply don't know exactly where they were. The family letters rarely weighed in on the sensitive issue between the three of them, whether by avoidance or simply because there was little to talk about, since everyone was already aware or took the situation as normal. But it is clear that their plural marriage was the immediate cause of rancor, and that the fallout of polygamy greatly influenced their personal paths.

But I'm getting ahead of myself.

The first notable thing that happened immediately after Brigham's speech was that the New York stock market crashed, causing the great Panic of 1873. This caused shortages all across the country that probably contributed to James moving to Salt Lake City after the harvest, looking for work. Alfred and Hyrum built a temporary cabin out of cottonwood trees across the valley, moved the family's animals there through the swamp, put up fences, and seemed to greatly enjoy ranch life. Sarah went with them, keeping house and keeping the boys in line. James and Mary C lived in comparative ease that summer and fall in their Paris house before James left for Salt Lake, likely visiting the children occasionally. I believe Sarah and probably the boys spent much of their time in Paris when winter set in to be more comfortable and to look after Mary C.

On November 5, 1873 Ann Carson arrived in New York aboard the ship *Idaho* (a portentous name) from Liverpool and traveled with her children Sarah Ann and Arthur to Willard, Utah, where they lodged with William Brewerton, who had been an important church figure in Nottingham, known well to her and to the Oakey family.

This is Ann's story.

A lace-mender may make a good wife as well as a lady; but of course you have taken care to ascertain thoroughly that since she has not education, fortune or station, she is well furnished with such natural qualities as you think most likely to conduce to your happiness. –from <u>*The Professor*</u>*,* by Charlotte Bronte.

They say the devil's tail twisted and tilted the famous steeple of Saint Mary's Church in Chesterfield. Though its towering point is nine feet off plumb, after 650 years it still shows no sign of separating from the top of the largest church in Derbyshire. But Ann Carson's life was all about separations, beginning with her separation from that very church. Although her older brother Eli had been christened an Anglican in the neighboring town of

Brampton, she and her younger brother Francis were baptized in Chesterfield's Scoresby Street Chapel by an Independent Congregationalist minister named J. Raine.

Her father Francis, who had lost his own father when he was only one, came to Chesterfield from the neighboring village of Youlgreave. I imagine he was a coal miner, since the town sat atop a massive coal seam and was booming due to its lucky position right in the middle of George Stephenson's North Midlands Rail Line, laid through town when Ann was 12. By the time the 1841 census taker visited, Francis had died. Two of Ann's brothers had already left the family in their teens to work as bobbin tenders. Her mother was a charwoman and Ann was working as a 15 year old "net mender" with two younger brothers to feed.

The next census in 1851 found Ann an hour's train ride south in Nottingham living only a few blocks from Mansfield Road where the Oakeys were living at the time, near St. Ann's Street Chapel, the center of Mormon activities. She was 25 years old, single and still mending lace. I don't know when she made the move from Chesterfield. We do know from Ann's church membership record that she had been baptized a Mormon in October, 1847, just after the first pioneers arrived in Utah. Her mother died a year after that, possibly precipitating Ann's change of residence and freeing her to leave home to look for better employment. Ann lodged in Nottingham with the family of John Wigley, a tea dealer who had been born in that town. It is likely that Ann Carson became acquainted with the Oakey family at this time. John Wigley certainly knew them.

Tom Oakey wrote in his journal on February 17, 1850:

Sunday Father took me and Mary and Lucy and James and had us blessed by Eld. Wigley in Saint Anns Chapel in the afternoon. After this we went to the Latter Day Saints School in Saint Ann Street Chapel on Sundays.

On May 21, 1851 it had been Elder Wigley who confirmed Tom's grandmother, Catherine Oakey, after her Mormon baptism. Elder Wigley was in the circle of priesthood holders who laid their hands on James Oakey's head to ordain him an elder on January of 1852. And he confirmed Lucy after her baptism on July 24, 1853.

Since the Wigleys were Mormons, I hoped to learn more about them in FamilySearch, the LDS genealogy compilation, thinking that they might have immigrated to Utah and may even have been in contact with Ann Carson there. Unfortunately, other than incomplete and unconnected individual records of John and Phoebe there was nothing, which implies to me that they had no Mormon descendants to record their genealogy. They never went to Utah, nor did any of their numerous descendants as far as I can determine. This would be unusual for Mormons of that time in England, especially for a traveling elder, which was an important office in those days. John and Phoebe Wigley or at least their children likely withdrew at some point from the church.

LDS church records show that Phoebe Wigley had been baptized in 1849, but give no location. Since Phoebe was also born in Chesterfield, I suspect that she and Ann had

already been friends there, possibly in the Independent Church congregation. Phoebe and John were probably married in Chesterfield since their first three children were born there.

Ann Carson did not marry until she was 35 years old. Then on January 23, 1861 she married a man who was on the rebound.

John Taylor was a bricklayer who also lived near Mansfield Road, but was not likely a Mormon. In the previous two years he had lost his wife Ruth, who was a lace mender, both parents, and his 13 year old namesake son. His oldest daughter had passed away earlier. Ann became the stepmother of the survivors: 12 year old Emma, ten year old George, and seven year old Clara.

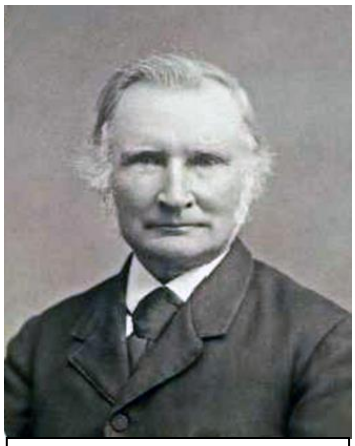
Ann Carson

Two years later at about the time James Oakey left Nottingham for Utah, John Taylor and Ann had a baby girl whom they named Sarah Ann, likely in memory of the daughter John had lost. The next year their son George died, just entering his teens. Arthur was born to them in 1865. In 1869 John Taylor himself died of paralysis at age 45 following a brief period of disability. After Emma developed dropsy, probably from rheumatic heart disease, and died in January of 1871 Ann was left with her own two children and Clara, the only survivor of the seven Taylors. The census that year showed that Ann was still working as a lace mender. Clara was a domestic servant and the two young children were noted to be in school. Arthur was a very freckled, red-haired boy. If he really did go to school in Nottingham, all that he could remember of England as an old man was how he had been shut in a court-yard all day while his mother worked in the lace factory, his sister Clara who was much older than he, a woman who used to give him something to eat, and the water-front at Liverpool as they emigrated.

On October 22, 1873 Ann left Liverpool for New York City on the steamship *Idaho*, arriving in an un-pioneer-like two weeks. From the name of the ship I surmise that she was not the only one of the 528 passengers bound for Utah. Interestingly she and her two children, now eight and ten years old, traveled under her maiden name of Carson, not Taylor. Clara Taylor stayed in Nottingham. The Carsons crossed the plains in comfort on the transcontinental railroad and found a place to live in Willard, Utah.

In Willard lived Thomas William Brewerton. He was the mayor.

Brewerton had joined the Mormon Church in Harworth, Yorkshire in 1844 as a 19 year old and was made a traveling elder to Sheffield and Nottinghamshire that year. After converting and marrying his wife Sarah Ann Crooks he worked his way southward to Nottingham, serving as a traveling elder for ten years. According to Tom Oakey's journal, Brewerton was the missionary who baptized both James and Mary C in 1850. He or his companion John Wigley had probably baptized Ann Carson three years earlier, as well as



Thomas William Brewerton

Phoebe and many others. Tom recorded a great send-off from Saint Ann's Street Chapel for Elder Brewerton when he gave his farewell address and was released from his mission in 1854 to immigrate to Utah.

Ann Carson and her two children lived with the Brewertons there. Arthur Taylor's history states that he lived with "cousins" in Willard, but Arthur had no cousins or any other relatives on either side of his family that I could find who ever left England. There is no doubt that the great missionary was intimately involved with Ann's settling in Willard and probably in her eventual linking up with James Oakey. I suspect that James and his family members had for years periodically stayed overnight with the Brewertons on their horse and wagon trips from Bear Lake to Salt Lake City. If James left for Salt Lake looking for work after mid-November of 1873, he could have encountered Ann at the Brewertons at that time. Since he did not marry her until a year later, I think it is more likely he had left Paris right after the harvest around October and met up with her on his return trip to Paris after April the next year.

Decades later in his autobiography Hyrum wrote: "After father came back from Salt Lake he married a widow woman Taylor who had two children. Mother lived with us after that." This suggests to me that James returned to Paris from his winter work in Salt Lake and then went back a second time to get married. If so, he had yet not returned by April 24. On that date Hyrum wrote an interesting letter to a greatly admired man named Bill Nelson, whom he had known in Paris, possibly as a youth leader, but who had been away long enough for several letters to have been exchanged. In it he wrote that Lucy was staying with his mother in Paris, but did not mention his father. I would love to know which Lucy he was referring to. It could have been Tom's daughter, Lucy Ann, who in later years liked to come to "the ranch" to be with Sarah, but she would have only been ten, and Sarah was living in Cottonwood at that time. If it was Little Lucy, this would be the earliest evidence that she and her mother Mary Etherington had arrived in America, but Little Lucy was younger still, just five. From the context of the letter it appears that James was not around then, likely still in Salt Lake.

On June 12, Alfred paid the $3 federal registration fee and formally filed his claim on the Cottonwood homestead. The receipt declared that he had been living on the land for over a year already.

At some time during 1874 James and Mary C's daughter Mary and her daughter "Little Lucy" left Jim Etherington in England to come to Utah. That May a missionary named Lester James Herrick, who had been serving as the acting European Mission President and played a big part in Mary and Little Lucy's life in the 1880's returned to Utah aboard the steamship *Nevada* in charge of a company of 139 Saints. I could not find Mary and Little Lucy among

them, but feel that Herrick may have helped her to arrange their crossing sometime that year.

That fall James went to Utah to get married. The ceremony took place October 12, 1874. I would like to believe that he took Mary C, Sarah, and Alfred with him, leaving Hyrum to take care of the animals at the ranch. That is possible.

It seems more likely that he went alone and the family went later. I imagine that Mary C did not want to be in Paris when James and Ann returned, and asked Alfred to take her in the wagon to Tom's house in Salt Lake City, either because Cottonwood was too close, too primitive, or both. By November she was with Tom's family. Alfred wrote the following letter to Mary C and Sarah at Tom's house in Salt Lake a few weeks after the wedding:

Paris, Nov 25th 1874

Dear Folks

I arrived safe at home Thursday night. I found the folks all well. I went to the ranch the next morning and found Hyrum well and doing well. He had tended to things first rate. Everything is all right the pans the meat and everything about the house. The stock is doing well. There is no snow in the valley yet but it as stormed and rained ever since I got home and is blowing like the devil now. Hyrum was pleased with his boots. He as wrote a letter to Nelson. There is no sale for stock so I dont know what we will do about some flour for the winter. This is all the news I can think of. Alfred Oakey

...Saturday--Please send me some stamps and 3 No 29-33-38 33 especially for John

Let me dissect that a bit. The "Dear Folks" whom he addressed would have been his mother Mary C, Sarah, and Tom's family. November 25th was on a Wednesday that year, so Alfred had come home on the 19th. The "folks" he stayed overnight with would have been James, Ann, and her daughter Sarah Ann (Arthur had stayed in Willard for school that year), who had returned earlier to Paris right after the wedding. Alfred had evidently come via Franklin or Logan since it would have made no sense to overnight in Paris before joining Hyrum in Dingledelle had he come through Evanston. Sarah and Mary C were in Salt Lake living with Tom and Ann and had no plans to return until spring. We know this from another letter written to Sarah the same day.

What Alfred did not say in the letter is that he was with Sarah's boyfriend John Pomeroy just as John was writing the love letter to Sarah that I quoted in Chapter Two. In it John had discussed the marriage and Sarah's "new mother." He also mentioned Sarah's sister, Mary. We know that John was in Cottonwood because he too wrote that Hyrum was sitting beside him writing to "Old Man Nelson" again. John assumed Sarah would return in the spring when the roads opened—he would wait all winter for her.

The next month Hyrum, who had just turned 15, came up with this interesting look into his ranch life:

Dear Sister

We received your letter yesterday and I was very glad to hear from you and that you were all well. You wanted to know how much milk the cows give. They do not give as much as they did when you were here. I am getting along first rate with the house keeping. I have churned once since you went and got about lb 4 of butter and I soon learned how to make bred. I got along first rate while fred was gone. I was very much plesed with the things you cent for me. My boots was just right. I guess I shall be all right now. I hope you will have a good time this winter. You wanted to know if we had found all the stock. We have found all of them and I have found my steer that I lost last fall. Mr. Morrey had taken him down to the Severe and back but you see I am a luckey fellow. I knew that he would turn up some fine day. I have got him over here now and I intend to keep him here this time. I have doctered the meat and it looks just like that did last year. I tell you I am quite a cook now. Fred is going to kill a beef and so we will get along all right but old Boss is not fat enough to kill.

I can not think of any more at presant. You must write often this winter you know. You wanted me to write a big long letter but I guess I cannot. Write as soon as you get this for sure. Give my love to all the folks and except the same from your little brother Hirum.

(In the margin) *we herd Mary was married but I do not think it is the truth*

They must have sent the stamps Alfred requested. An infamously delinquent letter writer, Alfred wrote again just two days later about the dances and the chickens and the stock. The boys were eating all the eggs they collected from the hens and had no prospect for flour for the winter. He signed it Bishop Oakey, using the family's nickname for him.

On January 3rd Hyrum wrote that he and Alfred had spent Christmas and New Years in Paris and had a good time. He added a poem he had written about their dog who had recently died:

Sacred to the memory of Old Speckso, who departed this life Dec 18, 1874. He was a member of the Church.

Old Speckso was as brave a dog as ever you did see
He had a white ring his neck on and four white feet had he.
One day a hunting he did gunned (?) *and everything he killed*
Untill he got a porcupine that filled his mouth with Quills.

On January 21 Alfred wrote:

Sorry you was so down hearted and that Mother is not well and that Pa and Aunty is so hateful. I killed Boss's yearling for beef. He weighed about 400 pounds. Hyrum sold his yearling and got one hundred pounds of flour so we are getting along very well. We commenced feeding the stock last week—got 18" snow. Tell Tom and Ann and Mary to write to us. I have not heard from Jim lately. He goes once a week and tries to come back the next.

It appears that if their contrary sister Mary was not also living with Tom, she was keeping in touch. It sounds as if Jim had been coming to the Ranch regularly from Ogden. That would be difficult, especially in winter. It is puzzling that "Pa and Aunty" (James and Ann) were around to be "hateful"—were they in Salt Lake? Hyrum and Alfred had been in Paris for Christmas, presumably with their father's new family, though he did not name them specifically. Or was Sarah referring to a hateful letter? In either case, this is the first real sign I've found of discord between the wives. There would be more to come.

In June, Sarah received a letter addressed to the Paris post office from a young suitor named E. A. Rice whom she had met at Jim's house in Ogden, and who was enchanted by her "sweet" voice as they sang together. He had a job with the railroad, which is possibly why he knew Jim Oakey. It appears that he had lived in Cache Valley because he had friends there and hung out in Logan and Franklin. The week after they met he was looking into mining work in the mountains around Cache Valley. He seemed clearly interested in pursuing a relationship with Sarah, sending greetings to her mother, but also to her intended (his underline). It sounds like her relationship with John Pomeroy was a serious one.

After a little research I believe this was probably Edwin Rice, son of pioneer Asaph Rice. Edwin was Sarah's age, 21 at the time. He died and was buried in Salt Lake City at age 29, evidently still not married.

It seems likely to me that Sarah and Mary C stopped for a significant time in Ogden on their way back to Bear Lake. Since the letter was addressed to Paris, it appears that Sarah had returned in the springtime just as John Pomeroy had hoped. She took her mother with her.

That August John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, and George Q. Cannon came up to Paris to officially establish the United Order. The Bear Lake pioneers objected to turning all their hard-earned property over to the church, so the Order in Bear Lake took the form of a co-op with purchased shares, not the strict communal Orderville type. It became one of the most effective in the church, outlasting Orderville and most others.

There follows here a gap in the letters. As the following letter indicates, at least two had been written before this, an earlier one from James and one to which he refers here, which I assume was written by Mary C herself, and it had left James frustrated. He was with his new wife Ann in Salt Lake, working in a planing mill. He was planning to stop paying rent on the room he had provided for Mary C there.

Salt Lake City, Oct 14 1875

Dear Wife and Childeren

I now have the oppertunity of writeing a few lines to you hopeing that you are all well. In your letter you sent, you sent that which you had tould me before, and that which I wanted to know you did not send.

I wanted Alfred to send me word about the stock and how things was mooving on, if the mills was runing, and what show there was for me to get work, for I would have liked to have come up this fall, but he has not sent a word about it. And when you write again put the number of the Box on it that it may not have to be advertized in the Paper. Rember the No. is 187.

With regards to the room reparing, I have not don eney thing to it. You did not leave the Key for me to get in. I suposed you was afraid that I should not act wright with what you had left, but it is the very thing you should have don and then I could have gon and see if all was right. Mrs. Effern would ask me every time I see her if you had wrot and I had to tell her no no no and as reagards the rent I think if you had are had the ten dollors in sted (of) *paing it for rent it would have been better, but I do not think I shall pay eney moore for I think it is money thrown away and it is so verey difical to get hold of now. I have sent you ten dollers and will send you some moore as soon as I can. I shall praps be abel to get it a little moore this fall than what I have up to this time. If Hirum has not eneythink to do I think it would be well for him to come to the City and work in the Mill and learn somethink in stead of spending all winter doing nothing. If he comes he should come right away when you receave this. I hope you will rite and send me word now you all are. Get Alfred or Hirum to write and then I can understand it. We are all well. Mary* (their daughter) *as got work at Mrs Dye in main St.*

I remain yours as Ever. James Oakey

It appears that Mary C answered this letter in person, and it was she, not Hyrum, who came right away--two weeks after James wrote she was back in Salt Lake. I think she returned in a hurry to ensure that the room she had rented would not be lost when James stopped paying the rent.

Salt Lake Oct. 27 1875

Dear Children

I did not find things any pleasanter than I expected to down here. Mary hasn't spoken to me yet. She has got a room to herself in the 17th ward. I've had no coal or wood since I've been here worth mentioning. I went to Dad and told him I was going to stay there until I got some wood for me, and he put me out the house. You must not feel bad about me for I am doing first rate. I am standing off good. I am going to see the Bishop and see if I can get something out of the old man. If possible I will do so and come home. Mary Ann Rich has got a daughter and I heard that grandma Pomeroy was dead. Sarah Sirrine (this is George Edward Sirrine's half-sister) *is taking care of Mary Ann. I am looking for a letter from you every day. You must do the best you can with that $10 that you got. I want you to get something for the pigs and chickens. If there is any one coming down that you could send me a little box of butter by, I wish you would do it. You can send it to the planing mill. Direct it to me. Be sure to do the best you can with the pigs. Give them a good bed. If I can get anything from them worthwhile Fred I shall come up to Ogden. Write soon and tell me how everything is and whether that fellow agreed to take what you offered him. This all at present. I will write again as soon as I find what is to be done and how, so good bye from your loving mother.*

Mary Oakey

Well, apparently she did find out "what (was) to be done and how." She was a confident, independent Mary C that we do not often see in her later letters. On November 21 Alfred wrote to Sarah from Salt Lake that he was heading home the next day with Bishop Horn and that "Mother is coming to come home on the cars and then by the mail." He had gone to Ogden via Blacksmith's Fork in the wagon with Rose, and then to Salt Lake. This was probably Rosina Grimmett, a 25 year old friend from Paris and Dingledelle. It does not seem likely that Mary C had come with Alfred, nor would she return with him, although she evidently did not plan to stay long at her Salt Lake place. Probably the bishop gave her the money she needed, she had taken care of business, and now she planned to head home.

However, it is likely that she changed her mind and decided to stay in Salt Lake. If not, she made only a very brief stay in Dingledelle. We know that she was not in Dingledelle in December from a note written years later by Mary's namesake granddaughter, Mary Cooper Sirrine, that Mary had been re-baptized in Salt Lake City on December 16, 1875 by William Harrison and confirmed by Bishop Samuel Amos Woolley of the Salt Lake City Ninth Ward.[83] I have no evidence that she returned to Bear Lake to live until 1878, three years later. If she did return it was only for short stays, since there is plenty of evidence of her living in Salt Lake during that period. Perhaps the meeting she planned with that "old man," the bishop, led to significant financial support for her, or James was making enough money in the city to support two wives.

In December, Ann Carson received a sad letter from Clara Taylor, her 22 year old step daughter in Nottingham. Clara wrote that she had been completely bed ridden for the past eight weeks and the doctor had told her she would never get well. She was filling up with water like her sister Emma had before she died. This was dropsy, the symptom of advanced heart failure. Clara's boyfriend's mother had taken her in after her Aunt Mycroft had refused to help. Clara asked Ann to say hello to Mrs. Alford and Mrs. Burrows for her. She was happy to hear that Arthur was contented—"kiss him when you see him." He must have still been living in Willard.

A month later Clara, the last of Ann's step-children, was dead.

Ann got the news from her friend Rebecca Watts, who wrote a sweet letter about Clara's funeral. Rebecca was a lace mender who had worked in the factory with Ann as a 17-year-old in 1851 and obviously knew her during all the hard times. By now she was 42. In the 1901 census Rebecca was still single and still mending lace at age 67, living with her spinster sister Elizabeth and a female boarder.

On January 31, 1876 Jim Oakey, who had gotten a good job with the railroad, wrote from Ogden to his siblings, who were trying without the help of either parent to get through a

[83] In 1849 the original Ninth Ward was a square containing the blocks between 3rd and 6th South and 3rd and 6th East. I assume it was located in roughly the same area in 1875. The 17th Ward where daughter Mary was living was South Temple to 3rd North and 2nd West to Main Street, a mile or so to the northwest.

difficult winter. The fact that he did not also address the letter to his mother suggests she was not in Dingledelle with them.

Dear sister and brothers

I received your letter today and was pleased to hear from you. I came in yesterday and shuld have gone out to night but the UPRR is blocked and no train came in so I did not have to go out to night. I was sorry to hear you weare so bad of for flour but I do not know how to help you. Money is hard to get but I will try and send you a little. I was sorry Hyrum ad such bad luck with his Mare. Tell Fred and Hyrum to write to us and tell me all about the stock and how there hay is holding out. There is about 8 inches of snow here. Now there is better sleighing then there has been for a long time in Ogden. I have took my Wagon to the Blacksmith shop to have sum runners put on the axels. Thay charge $5.00 per houre for a team at the livery stable. I wish you were down here but I do not think it would be any good for Hyrum to come Feb the 1. There is no train yet but thay are going to send a train out with men going to shovel snow at 11 o clock this morning and I think I shall have to go out. We will send $5.00 five Dollars with this letter. It is all I can do. The trains is block between Touno and Humbolt. Wells and the UPRR is blocked very bad.

It is nerley time to go so I must close this with kind love to you all. Write as soon as you get this. Bessie will write and tell you all about Daisy and Ada.

from your Brother, James Oakey

Jim and Bessie wrote again two weeks later to make sure the money came through. Jim had been out to Nevada nearly every day trying to dig out the train tracks and gave a full report of his work and their kids. "Ada and Daisy are stunners." Ada was nearly three and Daisy 12 months. Two weeks later they wrote again. I think they were a little nervous for the motherless homesteaders in Dingledelle. Bessie wrote,

Tom says your mother is comfortable and well so you need not feel bad about her. We will go down about the last of next month or the beginning of April.

Mary C was definitely in Salt Lake. Then from Jim:

I got a letter from Salt Lake. Thay weare all well. I have not been down there yet but I shall go when the Pay Train comes. I answered there letter and sent our likeness to Ann.

On March 10th Alexander Graham Bell made the world's first telephone call.

The "likeness" mentioned in Bessie's letter.

In Sarah's letter collection were also postcards, receipts, notices, and other curios. One of these may shed light on Mary C's life on her own in Salt Lake City that year. It was a ticket dated June 8, 1876 in Mary C's name for a complimentary admission to the Old Folks' Excursion and Centennial Jubilee, an excursion on a streetcar and the Utah Southern Railroad to Provo to celebrate the U.S. centennial celebration. It is not clear whether she actually used it.

July 25, 1876 was Custer's last stand.

In October general conference, the Logan Temple was announced. The next year the Bear Lake Stake was reorganized with the controversial William Budge installed as president. Paris was divided into two wards; the Oakeys were assigned to the second. That year the harvest was poor due to early frost.

There is an exasperating gap of 14 months in Sarah's letter collection between Jim and Bessie's letter and the interesting one to follow. The only possible explanation is that several have been lost. The silence ends with another letter from Mary C in Salt Lake City. I assume (admittedly without any proof), that she had been there the entire time.

Salt Lake City Apr th 12 7

My Dear children

I have not heard from you for so long a time that I am very anxcious to hear from you. Brother Moure has called on me and I have done some washing fore him. He is sending something up home and he will let you have one packeg of tea and fifty cents worth of sugar. Tom is doing nothing. All the wile dad has not done enything. All last weeke he is at home helping clean house and kill bed bugs. I am still in the same room and they insult me every time they see me. They will not give anything to live on of any kinde so what I have I get of Tom. Dad appears to be trying to make some move of some kind and we thinke he is coming to bear lake. The seckeand (second wife) *say she ones* (owns) *us and all we have and they are coming to let us see and I want you to take everything to the ranch that you poseble can. I do not want you to leave anything at Paris. If I know it when they start I shall start too and be in bear lake when they do or I will die a trying. If dad writes for the team I do not want you to answer his letter. If he does come there do not let hime have eny thing. He has put me in the strett three times and I want to treat him as mean as he treated me. I am expecting to have a bishop trial but I do not know what I will make of him. The seckond says that I thinke she has boss*(ed) *me here, but she will show me when she gets to bear lake and gets the cowes so I want you to make all as right as you can before they do come. If I can get the money to come to evanston or frankling I will as soon as possible. Do not feel bad about me for I will get alonge some way. Send word how the roads and water is. Do not let Hyrum crose the water for he might get drownded. I must bring my letter to a close now and hope you answer this as soon as you receive it.*

This is all at present frome

Your Affectionet Mother

Mary C was at war and organizing her troops. She could not even bear to utter Ann's name. This is the Mary C of family lore, who is willing defy even the bishop and church court if necessary. She will occupy her territory and defend it.

Sarah Clark

I would love to know what happened next. There are no letters for the next four months, except one dated April 30, 1877 from Mary C's youngest sister Sarah Clark in Harrogate, England, who wrote, "I wouldn't dare to cross the sea, but would love to have you visit us for the summer. I am very sorry to hear that you are not living with your husband. You must not bother over that." My guess is that James did not take Ann to Bear Lake as Mary C had feared, so the showdown was averted.

But Mary C was in Dingledelle again before August 23. That is the date of the only letter in Sarah's collection from Ann Varney Oakey, Tom's wife. It was addressed to Mary C in Dingle along with Hyrum, Fred, and Sarah. The year was not given, but the antics of little Gerty described in the letter could only been those of a two-year-old, which strongly suggests it was written in 1877. I will quote most of it, interrupting as needed for commentary.

Salt Lake C, Aug 23

Dear Mother Brothers and sister

Wee have just got Hyrums second letter. Thos answered your first as soon as wee got it. I gess you have got it by now. Little Lucy called this morning. Got home last night. Said they did not come to Dingledelle because no one would bring them. Wee are quite surprised to hear the reads has got in youre house. Wee expect to hear next that they have got all the cows for they seam to have it all there own way. Wee are not surprised to hear any think they say about us for they are galgerlated (calculated?) *to say any thank.*

Evidently 10 year old Little Lucy had come through Montpelier by train, but opted not to visit Cottonwood because she had no way to get from there to Dingledelle. If the Oakey's had expected her, they would have met her at the station. I believe she was returning from Portland, where she and her mother Mary had been living. She was traveling with someone other than her mother, who returned a few days earlier.

I'm not sure why Ann used the word "reads" in the next sentence. It appears to me, in light of Mary C's letter the previous April, that she is referring to James and Ann Carson and to the Oakey house in Paris. They had evidently moved into the house as Mary C had feared, and did not seem to be on very friendly terms with Ann Varney and Tom.

Ann continues, addressing Hyrum to report an interesting cricket match, a brass band, a celebratory dinner, a beer fest, a circus, and a theater performance that included some impressive door prizes. Then follows the section on Gerty:

Sarah you wont to know about Gerty. She is geting fat and quite saucy. She talk a deal about Hyrum. I told her the other day the tity was nasty. She looked at mee verry sly and said Gerty likes it thou. Lucy as been wanting to right you but it takes most of her time to run after Gerty for she runs away so much. This is all I can think of at present but the English letter I have asked Thos to send it dozens of times if I can get it I will send it. Pleas right as soon as you get this and tell mee all the news.

I hope this will find you all well as it leaves us.

Your Sister, Ann Oakey.

Tom added nearly illegible notes in every margin commenting on the cricket match, the health of his horse Bess, a promise to send the "English letter," and then this telling advice:

Tel Mother to never mind the house. But steck to the Cows. She will do Better with a House on the Ranch.

Tom wanted Mary C to let the Paris house go to James and Ann, but hang onto the livestock. It appears that she continued to hang onto both.

The next evidence of Mary C's location was in a letter from Sarah to George Edward Sirrine, a friend, but not yet her fiancé. Only a torn fragment of this letter has been preserved, which was written January 16, 1878 to George, who received it months later after it had followed him along the pioneer trail to Mesa. Sarah wrote,[84] "We all spent the holidays at Paris—no parties at the Ranche...Mother lives in Paris now so I stay with her most of the time." Mary C must have returned to Paris sometime after September 15, 1877 when the Mesa group left Bear Lake or George would have already known it. I do not know whether James and Ann were in the Paris house when she returned, but if they were, they did not stay there for long.

While concentrating on absorbing the family letters, I had put Tom Oakey's pocket calendars aside for a long time, finding them tedious to study. The handwriting was difficult and they were yielding only scanty genealogical information. One day, noticing that one of them looked particularly worn, I picked it up and saw to my surprise that the year 1862 had been was embossed on the cover, but the entries were dated much later. The booklet had been carried unwritten upon across the plains by the Oakeys, and it was not Tom's. Inside the front cover was written "Alfred Oakey" and inside the back cover, "Hyrum Oakey." The pages inside contained nearly undecipherable handwriting. The first entry was headed "January first 1878." I struggled through a whole month of daily notes on life in Dingledelle before it dawned on me that both Alfred and Hyrum were being named in

[84] See Chapter 4 p. 37.

the third person—this was Sarah's diary! As far as I know it was the only one she ever kept. The entries were brief, cryptic, and pedestrian, but the little book fills a big gap in the letter collection and provides a peek into Sarah's daily life.

In general, this is what I learned from the diary:

Mary C lived for most of the year 1878 in Paris. It appears that she was living alone in the Oakey house and that James and Ann were not living in Bear Lake Valley. There is not one mention of either James or Ann by Sarah in the whole journal. Until November, Mary C was in Cottonwood only four times that year, for stretches of four days in May, three days in June, seven weeks in July and August, and two and a half weeks in September, a total of ten weeks. The rest of the time she was in Paris except for a three week trip with Alfred to Salt Lake City in June. I assume they stayed there with Tom's family, not with James and Ann.

The purpose of Mary C's visit to Salt Lake was not given. Alfred had gone to Paris to pick her up June 13th, coming back to Cottonwood with her after dark the next day. After spending a day washing his harness and allowing Sarah to make butter using a "butter worker" borrowed from Grimmetts, the whole group set out the next day. Sarah and Hyrum and a couple of friends went only as far as the lake and fished--Sarah wrote that she caught three. She and Hyrum returned home late that night. Mary C and Alfred continued south, probably along the route pioneered by Charles C. Rich along an old Indian trail from the south end of Bear Lake through Blacksmith's Fork near Hyrum to Ogden.[85]

During Mary C's time in Paris, Sarah spent a lot of time there with her until the new house in Cottonwood on which the boys were working seemed livable to Mary C. From January 1, 1878 to the end of May, Sarah stayed in Paris 40 nights with Mary C. Hyrum was in school in St. Charles until the end of March, so during that time he too lived primarily on the west side of the valley, though possibly not with Mary C. In the first three months of the year he was in Paris or St. Charles 57 days. Alfred seldom stayed there overnight, usually driving back to Cottonwood alone after delivering others.

[85] According to Sarah's daughter Mamie, Alfred was still using that route 20 years later when he took her and Hyrum's daughter Maida to Salt Lake City. She wrote: *Sometimes I think we had the most fun going to Salt Lake in the covered wagon and really most of our fun going and coming. We used to go with Uncle Fred. It would take us four long days by way of Ogden Canyon. Uncle Fred said it was 9999 feet at the point where we stopped the first night. He was a jolly good fellow and we enjoyed the ride from start to finish. Maida and I were often the only girls and would sleep in the wagon. Fred and the boys slept under it. We always tried to make the same camp places. The second stop was at the Curtis Ranch. The third night we stayed at Uncle Jim's in Ogden, then the fourth night we were in Salt Lake City.*

I believe the house the boys were building at that time was the very one in which Mamie and her kids were later born, the "Dingle cabin." Contrary to my prior understanding, Sarah's journal shows that Tom did not work on this house, although Jim spent some time helping. Jim was in Cottonwood just for two weeks in May, but he may have stayed a significant time when he reappeared in November.

Dingle cabin around 1895

That summer the Mormon Church's stand on polygamy, which Brigham Young had expressed in Paris in 1873 seemed to be hardening. On July 7, 1877 Joseph F. Smith[86] said:

I understand the law of celestial marriage to mean that every man in this Church, who has the ability to obey and practice it in righteousness and will not, shall be damned, I say I understand it to mean this and nothing less, and I testify in the name of Jesus that it does mean that.

Sarah's journal ended in November, 1878, soon after George Sirrine returned from his first trip to Arizona. In December, Sarah and Alfred went to Tom's house in Salt Lake where Alfred had a temporary job hauling gravel and Sarah took lessons in "cutting." They had left their mother Mary C with Hyrum in Dingledelle. On December 24, their sister Mary married Joseph W. James in Salt Lake City. I think Mary C had returned to Dingledelle by then. I'll bet that James and Ann attended the wedding, though I have no direct evidence.

It seems likely that James and Ann moved to Paris sometime in 1879 once Mary C was permanently situated in Dingledelle, though I have no relevant letters written during that year. The group photo of the Oakeys taken around that time places James and Mary C together in Salt Lake City, at least for the event.[87]

Sarah Oakey and George Sirrine were married November 6, 1879 in Salt Lake. In a letter to Fred, who missed the event, Sarah described the wedding party. In the letter she mentions her mother, Mary C and many (but probably not all) other attendees, but there is no mention of her father James or his second wife, Ann. I would love to know whether this was an inadvertent omission, or that James and Ann did not attend.

The 1880 census shows James, Ann, Sarah Ann, and Arthur living in Paris together and Mary C in Dingledelle with Alfred and Hyrum, with Sarah and George Sirrine next door. This would be the living situation for Mary C, James, and Ann for the next two years although Hyrum was teaching school in Paris that year, and may have lived part time with James and Ann in the winter and spring.

In a letter to George that August, Sarah mentioned in passing that her mother had decided to stay in Paris to be there when Fred arrived back from working in Wyoming. I wonder

[86] Journal of Discourses, Vol. 29, p. 31.
[87] See page 40.

whether the two wives managed that night to be together in the same house. In September George's sister Ella asked whether Sarah and George planned to spend the winter in Dingledelle or in Paris. At least for Ella, that question was not yet totally settled.

That August Charles C. Rich suffered a stroke which affected his left side and his speech. In November his family took him to Salt Lake to recover at the home of his first wife, Sarah D, who never moved to Bear Lake. That month Mary C's former next door neighbors Harry and Mary Cheales, who had moved to Park City, offered to give their house and 320 acres in Dingledelle to Sarah and George, and that winter they moved into it.

The harvest in Bear Lake Valley was poor again that fall, causing more families to head south to Mesa including the president of the Cottonwood Branch, Bill Passey.

In February, 1881 the disabled Apostle Rich was returned via train to Evanston, and then by wagon to Paris. In March, his son Joseph Rich published the first edition of the *Southern Idaho Democrat*.

In May, Tom moved his Salt Lake family into the new house he had built on 515 South Temple. Contrary Mary got a divorce from Joe James and began a relationship with John Washington Thomas, a civil war veteran who had been born in Wales and lived in California, where they would eventually marry and live.

A receipt in the amount of $21 from Walter Hoge, lumber merchant in Paris, was issued to Mary C on June 24 documenting the payment of fees on her Dingledelle homestead.

In October Elder Rich suffered a second series of strokes and ended up completely bedfast.

In 1882 the Republicans lost control of the state legislature to a coalition of Democrats and Mormons, straining relationships in Idaho. In February a prominent newspaper criticized Idaho Territory Democratic Congressman Ainslie for supporting George Q. Cannon's effort to secure a seat for Utah in Congress. On March 22 the U.S. Congress passed the Edmunds Act, which disenfranchised polygamists, increased the opportunity for their criminal conviction, and forbad them from living with the families of their plural wives. It legitimized babies born before January 1, 1883, thus defining all polygamist babies after that date illegitimate.

The *Bear Lake Democrat*, lampooning this situation, published the following article[88] on June 17, 1882:

Whereas, for aught we know, the Bear Lake Democrat *circulates very extensively among the spirits yet unborn, and whereas, the provisions of the Edmunds bill are very obscure to many people, and rather so to Mr. Edmunds himself, who has intimated to us that he was slightly under the influence of New England rum when he conceived it, and that those who voted for it were more or less suffering from an attack by Reverend Dr. Newman's hot Scotch punch.*

[88] Russell R. Rich, *Land of the Sky-Blue Water*: A History of the LDS Settlement in Bear Valley, (2003) 143-144.

Therefore, is this to give notice that all children of plural marriage who shall with malice, pretense, defiantly, obstinately, contumaciously and with their eyes open allow themselves to be born after the hour of 12 pm on the 31st day of December, A.D., 1882 shall be subject to the following penalties, to wit: 1. They shall adopt for their coat of arms the bar sinister. 2. They shall be ineligible to the offices of President of the U. S., Justice of the Peace, and Road Supervisor. 3. They shall be libel (sic) *for contempt, and subject to a fine not exceeding the value of their personal property at the time the offense is committed. 4. They shall then be dismissed with a caution that if found guilty of the like offense again, they shall be immediately weaned and brought up on spoon victuals. In event of a dispute as to the exact moment of birth, the matter shall be decided by reference to Andrew Calloway's sun dial, from which there shall be no appeal. Children to be born will please govern themselves and make their arrangements accordingly. Ignorance of the law is no excuse. By order of the National Committee on Infantry Tactics. Hail Columbia, Jun. Yankee Doodle, Jun.*

This led to increased aggressiveness of the Republicans in the Idaho legislature to regain their majority by identifying and taking legal action against polygamists. There was much conflict over saloons and dance halls in the railroad town of Montpelier and the Methodist church house built in St. Charles. Angus Mackintosh's saloon in Montpelier became a bastion for anti-Mormonism there.

On March 18, James wrote this sad letter to Tom and Ann.

Peris March 18-82

Dear Son and Daughter

I imbrace the present opertunity of sending you a few lines to you hopeing you are all well in health. And also to brake the silance that has pravailed so long for it is a long time since I receaved a letter from you. I should have wrot sooner but I have been wateing expecting a stedy job at the Tithing Office but I did not get it so I thought I would write to you and see what you was doing and if they was eney think I could do down thare. Please write and let me know as soon as you get this. And also tell me about Mary what you know about hir and ware She is if you know. The Old Ingin is not whistleing throue the Valley yet but they have been workeing at it all winter hawling Lumber for the bridges and spikes to build them on the Mills has been stoped some tis winter but some have started gain. H Wooley as given up being supertendent of the lumber Co and going in with the other mills at Nounan. We are haveing A long winter this time. Thare is plenty of Snow on the ground yet and seames as though it would stay a little longer yet. Sarah wishes to be rembered to Lucy and all the Gairls and would like to heare from hir.

Ann joins me in love to you All. I remain your Affectnate Farther

James Oakey

P.S. It was your Mothers birthday last Sunday. But one she was 70 years old. So I had a rosted Turkey and A Plum pudding for dinner but she was not there. But that was not my fault, she hought to have been.

I hope you all injoyed your selves on that day. Send word if you did. J. O.

I wonder what exactly happened on that birthday. It sounds as if Mary C had been invited, but stood him up. Possibly things were so bad that he didn't invite her at all, but just had the meal in her memory. In either case it is clear that Mary C was not the only victim of polygamy in the family. For James the sentence "But that was not my fault, she hought to have been" could apply to more than the birthday; it summed up his attitude about the whole affair of polygamy: he had done his duty, she had not.

The engine whistles which he was anticipating were those of the Oregon Short Line Railroad, which would join Montpelier (and eventually Oregon) to the transcontinental railroad. His son Alfred and George Sirrine had been in Wyoming that summer and the previous one hauling lumber for the project. The connection to Montpelier was completed three months later on August 5th and greatly improved travel and communications for Bear Lake Valley as well as opening the valley to more liquor, gentiles, and rabble. The railroad opened new jobs which paid in cash. Mormons could go to conference and back by rail for $8.00. Montpelier quickly jumped from fourth to first place in population in the county. But it would not be until 1911 that the tracks would literally extend to James' house in Paris.

I don't have the reply to this letter from Tom and Ann, but they would have told him that his daughter Mary was "seeing the sights" of San Francisco with Mr. Thomas as their daughter Lucy Ann had reported to Sarah.

In April, Bear Lake Stake President Budge counselled church members to trade only with ZCMI co-operatives or with their long-time friendly gentile allies in Evanston as a reaction to the anti-polygamy persecution.

In June the Cottonwood Branch became Cottonwood Ward with Samuel A. Wilcox as bishop.

On August 10, James Oakey's step-daughter Sarah Ann Taylor married Thomas Minson, the head of the shoemaking co-op in Paris, a man twice her age. Like her mother she became a second polygamist wife.

On August 23, Rudger Clawson became the first polygamist to be tried under the Edmunds Law by a jury of twelve gentiles. Note that according to the census of 1880, there were 120,283 Mormons, 14,136 gentiles, and 6,988 apostates in Utah—it was not exactly a representative jury.

On January 22, 1883 Mary C attended the birth of Sarah and George's first baby, George Alfred Sirrine, in Dingledelle.

That year there was a smallpox outbreak in Montpelier, brought to town by the railroad. On August 27 the volcano Krakatoa erupted, darkening the atmosphere of the entire world.

On October, George Sirrine left Dingledelle for Mesa, hoping to prepare a new home for Sarah and the baby. In November the apostle Charles C. Rich died.

1884 was an election year and the polygamy issue heated up, especially in Idaho. Emily Rich[89] said, "...during this period I never remember the time when our blinds were raised. The room was always dark."

The U.S. Marshal[90] and his deputies made many trips on the railroad to raid Bear Lake towns to arrest polygamists. Church members kept watch on the Montpelier Bridge over the Bear River, running to one of the town's two telephones to alert Paris at Woolley's store. Telephone service had begun in Bear Lake Valley in 1882 with a line running from Montpelier to Paris. Someone slept in the store to answer the calls. In 1883-84 nineteen year old Ezra Rich worked there in the day and slept in the store at night. He would pass the word to Dick Sutton, the blacksmith, who notified the dozen polygamists in Paris, who scattered to the hills, deliberately unmown fields, or hideouts before the marshals could arrive. Once a non-Mormon listened in on the party line to a call warning Bishop Rich in Montpelier that they were bringing him a warrant. Luckily he was not at home, but the marshals were alerted and after that began exiting the train before it reached the depot, driving a borrowed team around to the towns. This was thwarted when a Mormon telegraph operator in McCammon betrayed them. A man with a tin horn would alert Paris to night raids. Once at 2 am the whole town was in the street to greet the arriving marshals—except for the polygamists, already in hiding. Nevertheless the marshals were sometimes successful. On one occasion the marshal came with 140 warrants, and apprehended 20 Mormons. In the late 1880s there was a significant campaign in southeastern Idaho to "resign" from the church in order to pass the loyalty oath and vote Democratic, followed after 1891 with wholesale reinstatement into the church with no repentance or re-baptism required.

Polygamy was a political issue in Arizona as well. James and Mary C's son-in-law George Sirrine wrote to Sarah on October 26, 1884, "Just now all the talk is of the Mormon question here. They have Endited (indicted) 11 now and are after more that is for Polygma. I guess it will go pretty hard with them."

One of these polygamists was George's grandfather, Charles Crismon. He never was caught, largely because he was surrounded by friends and family members who were able to shelter him when the marshals came around. The following story is quoted directly from the highly entertaining and yarn-spinning biography of GWS written by George's younger brother Warren LeRoy Sirrine.

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[89] Personal interview with Russel R. Rich, 1948.

[90] See page 232.

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Well court was in session and the officers had supenied all of them but Charles C. Crismon and they had isued bench warrent for him. And G.W.S. went down to Judge Tweeds and see him and told him that he was going up in town and see old Doctor Mahoney and have him come down and see him and for him to have his big rocking chair wheare he could look out of the window and when he saw them tieing up the horse for him to have his spittoon handy and have his pocket knife ready and for him to cut his gooms in several places so they would bleed good and when we come in you spit the blood in the spittoon and cough again and spit up the blood. And when they got to the door and knocked he was having such a coughing spell that he could not tell them to come in so they went in. Doctor said My God he is having a hemerage right now come on! And they went up in town and in to the court house and up to the judge and told him that they had just come from Judge Tweeds place and that Charles C. Crismon was there and he was having a heavy hemorage and he may be dead now and it would be a disgrace on the Teritory of Arizona to prosicute the old man and I would like for you to have his name stricken from the calender. Mr. Cleark have his name stricken from the calender. Which he did. Well Charles C. Crismon could of got on a good horse and rode him a hundred miles. Well all of the rest of them went and served thear time in Yuma.

As far as I can determine, James and Ann were living in Paris during this time, probably with their blinds closed and their ears attuned to the signal of the horn. Ann's daughter Sarah Ann Minson was pregnant and living in the cellar of the old polygamist's home to keep out of sight of the marshals. When they entered the town, the trap door would go down and the first wife Catherine pulled a rug and her rocking chair over it and knitted until the danger was over.

At a special priesthood meeting at the April general conference, President John Taylor asked all monogamists serving in ward bishoprics or stake presidencies either to make preparations to marry a plural wife or to offer their resignation from church office, and he called out the names of monogamous stake presidents. Stake President William W. Cluff resigned on April 22, 1884 rather than take a plural wife.

On April 15, George Alfred Sirrine (Babe) died at age 15 months in Dingledelle. George was in Mesa, but Mary C was with Sarah to comfort her. Lucy Ann sent a letter of condolence to Sarah and to Mary C, but did not mention James. In a letter to George's mother Esther Ann, the grief stricken Sarah wrote "Some people here feel the medicine the doctor gave was too strong. I don't think so, he was as kind as could be—said this was the worst case he had seen." He had advised her to give little George laudanum, tincture of opium.

The Logan Temple was dedicated May 17-19.

On June 2, 1884 a bid from the Woolley brothers in Paris to build a new county courthouse was accepted. This was to be important to James.

On July 17, 1884 Sarah wrote to George that James had been staying with the family at Dingledelle for the past week.[91]

On August 2 James wrote a brief letter to the Dingledelle family from Paris which was not sent via post. There is no stamp on the envelope which reads: "Mary Oakey Dingledelle." The headstone mentioned was probably for little George Alfred.

Dear Wife and Childeren

I send thease few lines to inform you that I receaved your letter and also the money you sent by Bro Minson. I went and ordered the Head Stone and Bro Brown said he would do it rite off. I called in About A week and he said that stone you saw was not good enough so he had to send to Logan to get Another one and it is not come as yet. I could not get eney seeder Post as yet. William Rich thought we could get som at St. Charles. I have got A glass for the Pitcurframe 14-18 the onley one in town. I could not get the Moulding as they was not eney at Wooleys onley som wide guilt Moulding. So I thought you had better see it when you come over at Confrence when I hope to see you and talk to you about it.

I remain your Loveing Husband and Farther

James Oakey

So James was in touch with the Dingledelle family including Mary C. I wonder if the picture frame he mentioned was to hang the family group photo in Mary C's house. I hope so.

On September 18 Ann Carson's daughter Sarah Ann's baby was born, but died three days later in Paris. The next day Sarah Ann died too, and was buried with little Wilford Minson in her arms. It must have been terrible for Ann, who had already lost a husband and all four step-children. All she had left was her son, 19 year old Arthur. And James was not with her.

He had moved in with Mary C in Dingledelle.

On October 16 James wrote to Sarah, who had taken the train to Ogden to stay with Jim and Bessie, then gone to Salt Lake for conference and a visit with Tom and Ann.

Cottonwood Oct 16th 84

Dear Daughter

You must excuse us for not writing to you sooner as we have been so very buisey since you left. We have thought of writing before, but there was always somthink to hinder it being accomplished. We are getting on very well. Your Mother wishes you to stay and enjoy

[91] See page 61. He "was quite friendly." They were thinking about making a trip together to the Logan Temple.

yourself for a month or tow. She tells the people that you are going to stay tow months. We have receaved a letter from Bessey giving a description of your jorney to Ogden. We was very glad to hear you got there all right. We receaved your letter and was pleased to hear you found them all well in health but was sory to hear that they was short of work...we have not threshed yet. We expect to sometime next week...Alfred as gon to the school house tonight to attend a pollitical meeting...we have not got quite all the hay up yet. We have hauled the 80th load today. We expect to finish next week. Alfred as made three trips to St. Charles Canyon for lumber. We have not got the Granery built but I have made a bin in the Old house to put the Grain in for a wile. Thers been no biears (buyers) *in after stock yet so we have not sould eney moore yet. I had to go over to Paris on Saturday Oct 4 to attend the funeriel of Sarah. She was buried on Sunday Oct 5th.*

...Tell Tom I would like to have a letter from him to know somthink about the saw mill. Rember me to Bro Butt. Tell him to keep himself right side up with care. So no moore at this time from your loving Farther and Mother James and Mary Oakey

P.S. your mother wants to know if you have got that Coate cleaned and she wants you to get som parsley and dry it and come summer savory. J O

Mary C must indeed have been content if she was suggesting that Sarah stay away a couple more months. It appears that things in Dingledelle were looking "first rate" as they would say. Alfred's political meeting would have been related to the upcoming elections. U.S. appointed supervisors were at the polls throughout Idaho that year to prevent polygamists from voting. Rampant voter fraud was reported among anti-Mormons recruiting "aliens, dead Indians, and tramps" to the polls, also wagon train members passing through, railroad employers, and of fake ballots.

Sarah received a letter in Salt Lake City the following week from George in Arizona, who said, "Just now all the talk is of the Mormon question here. They have indicted 11 now and are after more that is for Polygma."

Next came another letter from James and Mary C from Dingledelle. It is in James' handwriting, but there are hints that Mary C had dictated at least portions of it, probably most. Their advice to Thomas Butt on forgiveness might be a clue to their attitude about their own situation. And they were still encouraging Sarah to stay away longer. Thomas and Elizabeth Butt (or Batt) were living in West Jordan when Levi Naylor lived there. Thomas had become a polygamist after his first wife Elizabeth died in 1868 at age 25. He married Caroline Gage in 1870, then Elizabeth Ann Morris in 1873. In 1884 she had borne him five children. She would have six more. This connection makes me wonder whether James' work at the planing mill in Salt Lake may have been located in West Jordan and in some way connected to Levi Naylor.

Cottonwood, Oct 28, 1884

Dear Daughter

We embrace the present opertunity of writeing theas few lines to you to inform you that Alfred is better. His throte got better soon after we wrot to you the last time. It was very bad then. He could not drink eney think but warter. His throte was so sweled up he did not eate eney think for 3 or 4 days. We are going on all well. We have not threshed yet but we expect to in the morning as the mechine was set in the stack yard last last night but did not do eney work. Selena Berry was hear helping me yesterday and is coming in the morning. We shall have the threshers for breakfast so you see war getting on all right so that you can stay a wile longer if you can do your self eney good. We can get on all right. You ad better fix that green dress so that you can finish it when you get home. Bring som dress buttons with you. We was glad to hear from Girtrude it was a very good letter for a little Gairl. Tell her to write again and tell me if Vinnie can talk yet. Hyrum will write to her when the hurrey is over with the work. Tell Thos Butt I think he did not behave rite to his wife Lizey when she wanted to see him. Tell him if she as don wroung he as not don strickley that which Is right. We should forgive each other or we cannot be forgiven.

Alfred wants you to bring him a silk handkerchief.

We must conclude now with our love to all.

James and Mary Oakey

Sarah answered on November 6th that she planned to return to Dingledelle with Lucy Ann the next week via Ogden. Hyrum penned a reply on the eleventh on behalf of Mary C:

Mother is well. We went to Conference last Saturday and Sunday and they told us that the Fare to Logan was changed to $7.50 with 10 days' time. Mother thinks it would a treat for you to stay for Christmas. She can get along, but if you are coming home earlier let us know. We had an earthquake Monday morning a 15 minutes before two. Nobody hurt but considerable dander raised. Mother says to price a circular cloak for her. You have said nothing about a bonnet for her. She wants it all black with a tip or two "very nice ones." Fred is going to the Swan Creek mill and I am going to plow. Tell Gertrude I'll write to her soon.

But Sarah and Lucy Ann did return for Christmas and New Year's. Lucy Ann wrote this from Bear Lake Valley to her fiancé Will Evans:

Christmas here passed perhaps as well as any place in the Valley. I was at the log school house all day as well as evening. We had a sort of entertainment there during daytime as well as dance from the trundle bed part of the population here and in the evening we grown up folks had a dance, rather a dry affair. Some of us did not go there as all the good music had been engaged to play at Montpelier to a RR Party.

The railroad group was always having all the fun.

Sometime that fall James had been writing to his relatives in England, trying to catch up, but also probing further, doing genealogical research with the intention of doing temple work for his family. James' brother William replied, puzzled and beginning to worry about polygamy.

Villa St. Beeston Notts., Dear Old England Dec 13/84

My Dear Brother James

I scarcely know how to answer your letter—as you have put such curious questions about our relations when they were born and when they died...I was glad to hear of your having such abundance of Corn and Hay and Vegatables, which go a long way to make life happy, especially if Christ Jesus is formed in you in the hope of glory...(and more about religion, then details about their relatives, then)...*I do not understand by your letter that you are living with your Wife Mary as you used to do at Nottingham, but this I will leave with you...*

James gave an answer, which we do not have, and then William responded with the following:

Villa Street, Beeston, Nottingham April 12, 1885

My Dear Brother James,

I now take the opportunity of answering your most curious and puzzling letter of March 18, 85 with respect to the enquiry I made in my former letter about your wife, Mary, whether you were living together now as you used to do when you were in Nottingham. You express surprise that I do not understand you and the account you send me of being in the same train and sometimes sitting on the same seat does not make it any more clear to my mind than it did before. Dear Brother James, I now ask you who is your bedfellow at night----?

The train analogy makes a little more sense to me than it did to William. James and Mary C were at least for the moment "sitting in the same seat" again.

On December 22 the Idaho legislature denied public office to anyone advocating plural marriage. Later, in 1885 the Idaho legislature instituted a test oath for voting, disenfranchising all faithful Mormons, not just polygamists. At that time there were about 25,000 Mormons living in Idaho, a quarter of the entire population, although only about 150 were polygamists according to Stake President Budge. Unsurprisingly, political power in Idaho immediately shifted to the Republicans. This wording was not removed from the Idaho constitution until 1982.

In his letters to Sarah from Mesa that year, George Sirrine began to frequently refer to much trouble among the polygamists living there.

In February Hyrum Oakey was to marry seventeen year old Selena Dayton in the new Logan Temple. In his weekly letter, George mentioned the upcoming wedding and begged Sarah to come to Mesa now that Hyrum was taken care of and her father was with her mother. On the 21st James and Mary C, Hyrum and Lene, Sarah and Lucy Ann went by train to Logan. Lucy Ann changed trains and returned home. The rest rented lodging in Logan and spent six days doing temple work for relatives. Hyrum and Lene were married on February 25th.

James Oakey performed temple work for his great grandfather Joseph Oakey, Sarah for Catherine Allen. Mary C did work for her sister Bessie (Elizabeth) Cooper, and Lene for Sarah Ann Clark. On February 27 James did the work for his uncle Barney Loundes, Sarah for Lydia Oakey, her father's aunt.

Sarah bought a black cashmere dress. She did not go to Mesa as George had asked, but returned with her parents to Dingledelle. Sarah wrote to George that she had done 16 baptisms. He thought that showed Sarah was "getting braver." He wrote that polygamy persecution in Mesa had people uneasy, many getting arrested. Three informers in town were helping the marshals who had summons for over half the town but were having trouble finding the second wives. Court opened 6th of April. There was an officer on every corner.

On April 13 Sarah made an impulsive trip to SLC, exchanging her return ticket to Montpelier from a church conference in Logan for one to SLC via Ogden to console herself with family members. She wrote to George that she was missing him terribly, and had not been able to discuss it with her parents. The anniversary of losing their baby was two days away. Hyrum's new wife Selena wrote to Sarah on April 27th to say her "Maw" was missing her and that her Pa had not been in Paris since Sarah had left. The Polygamists were "most all hid up." Lene didn't think it likely that James and Mary C would come down to Salt Lake that summer. Bessie wrote about the same time from Ogden, also concerned about the polygamy situation. In her frank way she named two polygamists she knew who had looked scared, showing up in the afternoon in different clothes than they had worn in the morning. She was worried about Rosie, who was an abandoned second wife. Bessie was sorry that Rosie felt bad, but it was no worse than she had expected. Although still in Salt Lake, Sarah passed Paris polygamy news on to George. "They say that Chris Nelson and Dave Wright and a marshal from Boise are at Paris making a big fuss with the polygamists. They have all hid up that can."

On May 5 Sarah wrote an upbeat and historic letter to her parents in Dingledelle describing the nature of General Conference with all the general authorities in hiding. I wonder if that is why it was held so late that April.

Conference last week was grand. I attended a mass meeting at the tabernacle where most speakers were young men who had been raised in polygamy (I am assuming that their fathers were general authorities in hiding)*, the bands were out and the music was splendid. There was town meetings on Sunday and then they gave it out that there would be meeting in the big Tabernacle that night and Brother Angus M. Cannon would speak to us, so we all went and he did speak splendid. He is found guilty and is to be sentenced next Saturday, but he does not seem to fear it. I will try and get a paper for you.*

Angus Cannon

Angus M. Cannon was not a general authority, but was the next closest thing. He was the Stake President of the 50 wards in Salt Lake City. Until 1877 when each of these had become independent stakes, his territory had included not only Salt Lake City and Salt Lake County, but also Tooele, Davis, Morgan, Summit and Wasatch. Earlier he had explored Parowan at age 17 and then helped George A. Smith, the town's namesake, to establish St. George and found the Cotton Mission, erecting the first house and the first public building there. He was the younger brother of George Q. Cannon and a polygamist. Brigham Young performed Angus' first marriage to two women at once, Sarah and Ann Mousley, whom he had met on his first mission to the New York area. By the time of Sarah's letter he had married his fourth wife, the famous Dr. Martha Hughes Cannon, around the time of the previous October general conference. He was a frequent speaker at conference. He had been arrested on March 26 and found guilty April 17. The Saturday after conference he was sentenced to six months in prison and fined $300 for the crime of cohabitation. He actually served two additional months related to a legal test of the constitutionality of the cohabitation law. Defiantly, he married two additional women after his release and continued to be hounded by federal authorities until after the Manifesto. An estimated 1,300 Mormons were jailed during this period in five states, primarily Utah, Idaho, and Arizona.

On May 9 Utah Chief Justice Zanes ruled that even visiting one's wife constituted cohabitation. This may have been part of Angus Cannon's sentencing. I assume that it was in response to this ruling, when that year the Church instructed all polygamous husbands to live openly with only one wife.

Hyrum wrote to Sarah from Dingledelle, "Mother is as well as usual. Her and Fred are talking of going to Paris tomorrow for conference." I don't know whether they actually went. Evidently James wisely stayed home, which was good. Ten polygamists were arrested that Sunday as they attended the meeting. Hyrum continued:

Your two cows have got calves...the old sow has got 10 pigs. Fred's black mare has got a cold and the two cats have got kittens. So we're very busy. Mother says if you are not doing much to come home. If you have not got enough money to bring you home we will try and get enough to send for you...Mother says we are getting along well enough and if you are doing or learning anything to stay there, and not come home.

Sarah wrote on May 17th to her parents that she had spent time with Rosie, who was in financial trouble now that her husband was on the run. She was not sure how she was going to get back to Dingledelle. She had planned to return with James and Mary C, who had been planning to make a trip themselves to Salt Lake. Lene had been right; they had cancelled their plans and Sarah did not have enough money for a train ticket. Bessie and Jim were trying to find someone planning a trip to Bear Lake from Ogden to take her. Then

on June 4 she wrote to Mary C and her brothers that she had found the money to return. She mentioned that her father was in Salt Lake.

Father sleeps at Mary's. He has not been here till just now. He says he has been sick all day. He came to see if there was a letter from Hyrum for him. He is gone back to Mary's. He never says much to me--never says anything about going home or what he is going to do. He has got one of Tom's shirts on and he has got some garments from somewhere, so he is all right.

It sounds as if James left for Salt Lake in a hurry and traveled light, without even bringing a change of clothes. My guess is that the marshals got wind of him hiding out in Dingledelle and he barely escaped. He had a house in Salt Lake, so the fact that he was staying with Mary (and most likely Little Lucy and possibly John Thomas) suggests that he didn't dare to go there either.

*Tom has no work for a few days so he is working around house painting and fixing up the fly doors. They are getting on first rate. He has got his two wheeled gig done and has borrowed a horse and has gone for a ride to see about some work... Lucy (*Ann) *has lots of work but she has been quite sick for a day or two. She was re-baptized on Tuesday and confirmed today at fast meeting. Ann and I went up to Buckles*[92] *yesterday afternoon. I have not been out much since I have been here.*

Rose has not been to see us lately. Father goes to see her sometimes. Tom and Ann feel so bad because Mother does not come down. I don't think they will be able to come up this summer. I am thinking of going up town tonight to see Sariah Cook. She is living with old Mrs. Hill that was by Mary's. She is called Mrs. Thomson now and keeps furnished rooms to rent to gentlemen. Sariah seems to like the place first rate. She comes to see me some times...

...your loving daughter, Sarah

By June 18th Sarah was back in Dingledelle, writing to George about her plans to come to Mesa, planning to bring her mother and Fred, but dreading the trip. It is obvious that James was not in this picture. Lucy Ann wrote two days later from Salt Lake City that "Grampa" (James) had been at her house and planned to go to Cottonwood (Utah) with her father Tom that day. On July 18 Sarah wrote to George that her father was still in the city—she had not heard from him in a long time.

It seems that James was keeping a low profile in Salt Lake City. On August 28, Lucy Ann wrote to Sarah that James and Ann would be going home tomorrow. They would go as far as Willow Creek on the train and Ann's son Arthur was to come (from Paris) to pick them

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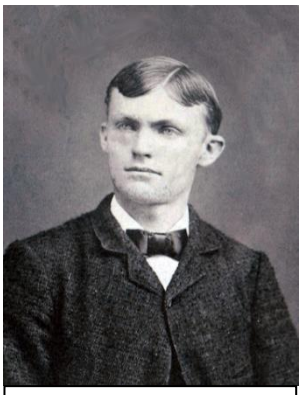
[92] This would probably have been the family of John Buckle, a Londoner who had come to Utah via Ballarat, Victoria, Australia in 1874 or possibly one of his two married sons, George or John Thomas. John had been an award-winning tailor in Australia and did not come to Utah via the Perpetual Immigration Fund, but was able to pay his family's fare himself. Sarah referred to her visit to the family in a familiar way that suggested the Dingle group already knew them. I thought at first this might be through his wife Ann, who was a Cooper, but since she was born in London, that is unlikely. He ran a tailoring business in Salt Lake City called Buckle & Son. He lived near 5th South and 7th East, so was not far from Tom and Ann.

up. So Ann had been with James in Salt Lake at least part of the time. There was no mention of her in the other sightings of James by the Salt Lake Oakeys. Did she come down to bring him home, or had they been together the whole time? Either way, Ann and James were now back together again.


William Ellison Evans

On October 13 Lucy Ann wrote Sarah that she was determined to coordinate her wedding to Will Evans with Sarah's trip to Mesa, otherwise they would have to wait a year until Sarah returned. Strange, up to this point I was not really convinced that the trip to Mesa would ever happen, and if it did, was Sarah's plan to return after a year? At the moment the date for the wedding was uncertain for another reason: Will's bishop was a polygamist in hiding and he could not get a recommend signed. But somehow it all worked out. Will found the bishop hidden up in Logan, telegraphed Tom the news, and raced home just in time. The wedding took place on November 13th just before Sarah, Mary C, and Fred finally boarded the train for Mesa. Mary C found Mesa too hot, even in December, and three weeks later she had already made up her mind to head back to Bear Lake.

On November 10, 1885 the County Courthouse officially opened in Paris. James Oakey at age 68 was hired as janitor at his suggested salary of $12.50 per month, renewable on a three-month basis. He worked there until the day he died on the last day of 1896.[93]

The Lorenzo Snow polygamy trial made headlines in January. On February 10, 1886 Lucy Ann wrote of more polygamy arrests in Salt Lake City, also of the birth of Little Lucy's baby.

We're worried that you and Gramma are homesick in Mesa. Pa wants to know why Fred hasn't written. Business is slow—Pa (Tom) *has little work and Will has been working short time. The Lawyers and Deputy Marshals are the ones that are very busy. They Convicted Brother McMurrin yesterday and he is to receive his sentence on the 23rd of the month. He will no doubt get 6 months and $300 fine, the same as the rest. They give them all the law allows and if the new bill passes there is no knowing what will become of all of us, there is a five hundred dollar reward out for George Q Cannon and twenty men searched the Gardo house and all the largest places in town for President Taylor, but of course they did not find him. They have got Hyrum Goff and Will Jenkins of West Jordan. Their trial is next Tuesday.*

Things remained much worse in Idaho. For one thing, the 1884 Test Oath Act was extended to public employees by the winter of 1886 causing difficulties staffing public schools in Bear Lake Valley and causing Mormon schools to lose their state appropriation.

[93] Russell R. Rich, *Land of Sky-Blue Water*, page 133 and James Oakey Obituary. The obituary states that James worked there for fourteen years, which cannot be correct unless he began service during the construction of the building.

This led to the founding of the Fielding Academy in Paris, a stake academy fashioned after Brigham Young Academy in Provo and other schools in Utah.

Fred Dubois

In general, Idaho Mormons suffered more than those in any other state because it became a bitter political party issue. From 1872-80 the Democrats had controlled the Idaho Legislature through an alliance with virtually unanimous Idaho Mormons. After Abraham Lincoln's election to the U.S. Presidency, Republicans in Idaho, who opposed the "twin evils" of polygamy and slavery began to get the upper hand. Since neither Republicans nor Democrats held a majority, the Republicans needed to do something about the Mormon voting bloc. As Republicans in Washington passed a national anti-polygamy statute in 1882 that allowed states to disenfranchise and imprison polygamists, Idaho Republicans joined in a moral crusade to draw recruits from the Democrats to their side. In 1880 a talented young Republican named Fred Dubois moved from Illinois to Idaho Territory to make his fortune. He was a grandson of the celebrated Toussaint Dubois, who had distinguished himself at the battle of Tippecanoe, and he was an associate of Abraham Lincoln. Through this connection he was appointed U.S. Marshal for the Idaho Territory in 1882 and made a name for himself opposing Mormons and polygamy. Although he may have had a genuine hatred of polygamy, there was a considerable political motivation to put Republicans in power and get himself elected as Territorial Delegate from Idaho to the U.S. Congress. He did not content himself with his frequent raids to arrest polygamists. He was the leading advocate of overpowering the Democrats' majority by disenfranchising the Mormons from voting and holding public office.

Dubois did manage to get himself elected to Congress in 1886 with most Mormons shut out of voting. In Washington he did more serious damage to the church as he campaigned for Idaho statehood. When Idaho became a state in 1890 he was elected Senator.

William Hathaway in a report on the history of the *Idaho Falls Post Register* states:

It's a fact that Idaho officials were much harsher in the treatment of Mormon polygamists than either Utah or Arizona. Some eastern Idaho Mormon leaders were singled out for special treatment—instead of paying a fine or spending few months in the territorial prison they were sent to federal penitentiary in South Dakota for terms up to three years. Idaho polygamists were "three or four times as likely to be arrested, tried, and sentenced as their Utah counterparts.[94] *...In such a vengeful judicial climate, it can be claimed that the last four Idaho polygamists sent to federal prison out of state were essential victims of civil persecution."*

[94] South Dakota History, vol. 27 Nos. 1 and 2.

That week Ann Carson Oakey received a letter from her sister-in-law Mary Carson in England answering genealogy questions. Likely James was preparing for a temple trip with the second wife.

Mary C and Fred were back in Dingledelle before March 24, coaxing Sarah to join them. Mary C wrote that she was afraid Sarah would make herself sick with worry and demanded a letter. Getting one, Mary C answered with detailed instructions on how to get back to Idaho alone on the train, and Sarah was back by May 2, safe and sound. And six months pregnant.

That week she reported to George that she had visited their baby's grave. Also she wrote,

...Hyrum has taken Mother to Paris. She was not fit to go but he was going so she would. She thinks it will do her good. But I expect she will come back sick for she is real weak yet. Every one tels me how bad she has been and they never thought I would see her again but I think she will get better...

I wonder what she did in Paris. Was Ann there? Was James there? Did she just visit friends or go for the ride?

On August 26 Mary Cooper Sirrine was born in Dingledelle. Mary C was there. No mention of James.

There were few letters from 1887. On March 3, 1887 the Edmunds-Tucker Act was passed. Just after that, George Edward Sirrine left Mesa for Bear Lake, where he would live with Sarah for the rest of his life. On July 24 John Taylor died in hiding in Kaysville. No new prophet was to be called for about two years. Near the end of the year Selena and her two and a half year old son Roy saw Hyrum Oakey off on a mission to the Southern States. She was eight months pregnant and went to Cedar Fort to live with her mother.

Mary Oakey with Mamie
October 1886

There was no mention in the letter collection of either James, Mary C, or Ann during the entire year of 1887. Apparently the Idaho marshals had backed off and James was able to keep out of their sight in Paris while taking care of the courthouse. He had a steady exchange of letters with Hyrum on his mission. In February, 1888 James wrote: "we are having peaceable times from our enemies as thy do not trouble just now but they are having lively times in Salt Lake City…taking after the Church property."

From Lusk, Alabama Hyrum replied, "Well, father, you should not let them get hold of you if you can help it," and cited a newspaper piece from a neighboring town advocating tar and feathers for the Mormon elders.

Tom noted in his pocket calendar on April 13th, "Took Sarah and Mother to depot at night." They had been down for conference.

The Manti Temple was dedicated on May 17. It was there that senior apostle and soon to be church president Wilford Woodruff said "We are not going to stop the practice of plural marriage until the coming of the Son of Man." He was not the prophet just yet.

By their context, Hyrum's letters show that Mary C and James were not living together that year, and he always addressed them separately. He told Sarah that July that he hoped Mother wouldn't unwisely make herself sick about him for he was well. He was baptizing. He was looking for a "help" for Sarah, and assumed she would rather have an older lady than a younger one. (I'm a bit baffled by this request—was Mary C now infirm? Did Sarah need help with her baby? Perhaps she needed help cooking for the temporary farm workers.). He would like her to send him a tie—just what he needed when he wore turn down collars.

In December Hyrum enclosed cedar tree seeds for Sarah to plant in the spring. He was sorry to hear of Mother's uneasiness.

Let her know that there is nothing wrong with me when you do not hear from me as often as you expect for sometimes it is so I cannot write as often as I would like. I would love to see little Warren and Mamie. I think little W. has been nursed a little too much in the day time..., explaining to Sarah why the baby didn't like to amuse himself.

On February 24, 1889 Tom recorded that he had been to a meeting to hear George Q. Cannon speak, "just out of the pen."

At April conference, Wilford Woodruff became president of the Church. Following October conference he ordered the destruction of the endowment house and wrote in the *Salt Lake Tribune*: "I have refused to give any recommendations for the performance of plural marriages since I have been President … and have instructed that they should not be solemnized."[95] On May 19, 1890 the U. S. Supreme Court upheld the Edmunds-Tucker Act. The LDS Church Corporation was ended (referred to as the "late Church" in government documents.) All assets were to be seized. In response, on September 24 the Manifesto was issued as a press release, and then sustained by vote in General Conference in October.

After many years the correspondence between James and his older brother William resumed.

23 Bechenham Road, Radford Notts, Oct 7/90

Dear Brother James—

I received a letter from you yesterday (by Mrs Litchfield) and I was very glad to hear that you and your family were all well in health—it would appear you have rather a numerous lot of them. I have not so many that bears the name of Oakey that you have—and I have lately lost

[95] Richard S. Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy a History,* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1986), 138.

the Dearest of them all—my wife Mary has entered into the rest that remains for the children of God...

She had fallen down the stairs head first. William then explained that when they last wrote he had been managing 20 warp machines in Beeston until the factory burned down five years ago. He was now 75 and living with his daughter Emma, whose husband had gone into the new booming business of bicycle manufacturing.

...you mention in your letter of Mary living in Park City—keeping a Millenary store—is this Mary your wife—whom we knew her as such—if it is I should be glad for a little more information about the affair...

He ended the letter filling James in on a lot of requested genealogical data.

This is a civil and respectful letter from James' older brother, who had obviously mellowed with age and experience. Ironically, William now has many more descendants than James who carry the Oakey name. Since James' surviving grandchildren were mostly girls, he currently has but one or two male descendants as far as I can determine. They both come through Jim's line. I assume that James cleared up with William the confusion regarding his wife and his daughter, both named Mary—it was the daughter who sold hats. No doubt my readers have at times had the same issue, despite my best efforts.

Shortly thereafter William wrote again, having received an answer from James and also read about the Mormon Church's Manifesto on polygamy in the British Press. He agreed to continue correspondence only if the brothers did not discuss the merits and demerits of Mormonism, but then went on to discuss polygamy at length including his approval of Wilford Woodruff's Manifesto. He pointedly asked why James had not mentioned his wife Mary C. William sent James a printed death announcement for Jane Lakin, his sister-in-law and cousin (Williams wife Mary Lakin was a first cousin to him and to James.) I am not aware of any further correspondence between them.

In March, 1891 the Bell Telephone Company came to Paris and phones came into many homes.

There are only two letters in Sarah's collection from 1891. The first one is a doozy, well worth the read, presenting new insight into the Oakeys' three-way marriage relationship, and many questions. It is the only letter in the collection written by Ann. To my great frustration, the year is not recorded. I have concluded that the year most likely was 1891 for reasons to follow. Here goes.

No/7 July 31

Dear Husband as I have a chance to send to the post I thought I would rite you again thou praps I shall till you see this is the 7 letter I have sent you and only recived 2 from home since I left. Praps it is not your fault. Wee sent to Parris by Passey this week for the mail and coming home hee crosed the river in the rong place and his wagon box floted of. It was all he could do to save himself and horses his markets and cote (coat?) *went to the bottom of the river. He*

says there was a ledger for mee but no letter. I have recived 3 ledgers No 20 21 22 so it is 23 that is in the river. Will you pleas send mee a nother 23 as I am interested in a tale (tally?)

Now Dear Husband how is it that there was a paper and no letter? If it is to much troble to right me one letter a week I do not wont the ledger. I feel dredfully slighted but I will not say any more till I know whether you rote mee or not and tell Mary I would like to know what is the reason she does not right to mee. I am quite tired of sending her news without an answer. I am sorry to heair that she is not well but I think she might send mee a few lines. Remember I am away from home and am a little interested in things down there.

Dear Hos (husband) *I have thought about you a great deal to day. It as been a stormie day and to night it is right cold. I hope it is not so hot in the City as it was and I hope you are not sick. The baby as got over her weaying* (weaning?) *the best kind. She is quit well as all the rest of us are.*

Give my love to all and recive a doble portion yourself, your Loving Wife Ann Oakey

PS send mee word whether you hav paid Line Woolley the 2 dolers wee owed her for milk

9 o clock good night

Please send mee some stamps as I have none not a cent of money

Saturday Morning

Half past 6 oclock it is so cold that wee have got our shalls on in the house. Mother would like a letter from you all. Shee feels slighted.

I believe that the letter was written from Mary C's home in Dingledelle. James and Mary C must have been together in Salt Lake City for about six weeks, judging from the number of letters Ann had sent, possibly in the home where James had lived in earlier years, sometimes alone and sometimes with Ann, the home to which Mary C came asking for wood in October of 1875. Ann had evidently lived there long enough to refer to it as home in the letter and to be interested in "things down there." It seems that Ann may have been doing some sort of bookkeeping for James, possibly recording his hours working at the courthouse. Maybe it was for his job at the mill in Salt Lake, though at his age of 74 that seems unlikely.

This scenario raises many issues. Here are my thoughts.

First, why do I think the year was 1891?

Pro: The letter postscript was written on a Saturday, so the letter was likely (but not certainly) written on a Friday. During their entire marriage there were only three years in which July 31 fell on that day: 1885, 1891, and 1896.

Pro: The letter mentions Line Woolley, to whom money was owed for milk. Hyrum Smith Wooley's second wife was named Caroline, who could possibly have gone by "Line." She

moved to Paris in the fall of 1889, and so could have been the person mentioned, which would support the 1891 date.

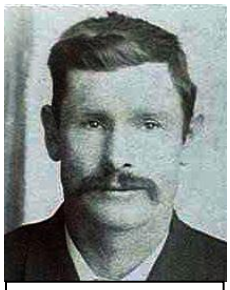
Pro: The letter mentioned a baby girl, possibly about the age to be weaned. Ann did not have a granddaughter until 1895, which would favor the 1896 date, but this was after Dingledelle got a post office, which would obviously make the trip to Paris for mail unnecessary. But Sarah's second daughter, Maude, would have been 10 months old in July of 1891 and lived in Dingledelle. The only other possible granddaughters would have been Sarah's Mamie or Hyrum's Maida. But Mamie was an infant in 1887, when January 31 fell on a Sunday, and for it to be Maida would require July 31 to fall on a Tuesday in 1888.

Con: One source states that Dingledelle's post office was opened in 1890. However, the oldest postmark I could find offered in collector websites was 1892. If the post office was open, the story of Passey going to Paris for mail would make no sense.

Con: I originally felt the letter must have been written between 1877 and 1880 assuming the Passey mentioned was Bill Passey, who served as branch president during that time and had family in Paris, and therefore might have been carrying mail. However, there were many Passeys in both Dingledelle and Paris, who could have carried mail in 1891.

She wrote, "Mother...feels slighted." This must be self-referential since her mother, Mary C's, and James' had all died long before. Ann must have been referring to herself in the third person.

Assuming my conclusion is correct, why would Ann be in Dingledelle and not at her home in Paris? I have two theories, but neither is really compelling. The first is that she may have given her house in Paris to her son Arthur and his wife, who had a 20 month old son. The second may have to do with the problem of living in polygamy after the Manifesto. Could she have somehow been in Dingledelle to be out of the public eye?



Arthur Taylor

There's plenty of mystery here. What do you make of it?

On December 13, 1891 Tom wrote from Salt Lake City to Mary C and the Dingledelle family, very alarmed to hear that his mother was sick. He planned to come with Jim, but both were having trouble getting away from work until the holidays. He asked for frequent updates and expressed surprise that she was sick because Cousin Rosa had told his wife Ann that Brother Cannon (George Q.) had seen Mary C recently at the Bear Lake Conference and felt she looked really good. Soon after that Sarah's friend Mary Cheales wrote that she was sorry to hear that Mary C was sick again, but was surprised she was even alive. But Mary C wasn't done yet.

On May 23, 1892 James and Ann bought two adjacent one-acre downtown lots in Paris for $500 and sold a lot just a block down the street.[96] I am not sure when or whether they lived in either of these places. In June, 1892 the Paris Canyon power plant began providing electricity to Paris. "The Hall" was built in Dingle by the Quayle family and others, a two story building 40 x 60 feet for dances, dramas, concerts, and suppers. Hyrum Oakey organized the Dingle Brass Band and played coronet.

Hyrum Oakey far right, Alfred Oakey on snare drum

There were no more letters that mentioned Mary C for a full year until this exasperated letter from Tom in January, 1893, who was trying to take care of his mother in Salt Lake.

....Mother looks for a letter every day or 2 from you. She is worse now than aney time since she came down. Last week I took her to the theatre to the Old Folk (obscured by fold). *The theater was so full that she cod not get her breath so she got up and went to the door and the wind draws there so hard that she took a Bad cold and has not been abble to get out since and is in bed most of her time. We are having quite a hard time with Her just now. We are getting down to the trubble you said we shold have with her. She is so cross and when we do the very Best we can for her she is not satisfied with us and she said I must take her back to the Ranch. But it is to cold at Present. I told Her the other day that I had wrote to Fred to come and Fetch her. Do to the Pasifur* (?) *she will not go upstairs to her room now so she sleeps on the longe in the dining room. First she said that the little Room was to cold. I made a hole in the chimney and put a stove in her room. Then it was to hot and to close. Lucy was up the other day and she made Lucy Bring Her down and she said that she wont go back upstairs. She seams to be about the same as when I was up at Bear lake last year but she don't seam to try to content herself at all. Little Lucy Etherington came down to see her today and brought her some Wine. Bro Jim came down Sunday a week ago. I wrote up and hast him to come down to see her for she wanted to see Him and she was quite disapointed as Jim did not take her Back with <u>Him.</u> She will wake up in the Night and Raise the Whole House for Nothink at all and I got a cold and Ann got a Bad Cold Running about in the middle of the Night. But I think when Her cold get Better she...* (it breaks off here—maybe a page is missing).

In the margin on the front of the letter: *Mother looks some better this morning.*

Mary C was still in Salt Lake in February, but had moved out of Tom's house. Her granddaughter Lucy Ann and Will Evans were taking care of her. Lucy wrote that Grandma

[96] See page 191.

had told her she was hoping to stay until spring, but wanted to go home if no better. But she did not want Alfred to have to borrow money to get her.

Evidently Alfred did borrow the money. Mary C died March 28, 1893 in Dingle. Strangely, no letters of condolence were saved by the family.

That year there was a financial panic in the U.S., causing a severe three-year depression.

Her grandchild, my grandmother Mamie, remembered Mary C's death in her autobiography.

When I was a child I never knew much of my grandparents. My Grandmother Oakey lived in Salt Lake City much of the time and my Grandfather Oakey, also. They had come from England in 1862 with their family. Grandmother was a very neat, small lady as I remember. She always wore a white vest. Her hair had a bob at the back, and she had a black velvet bonnet rolled back from her face. She stayed at our home for a few years—she died there. I was only about six. I remember how lovely she was and how beautiful she looked in her white casket in her temple clothes. It was in March and I remember the snow. It was drifted even over the fences. I remember how we ran and played on it.

I also remember of Grandmother telling me stories of leaving England and passing the plains. I loved her and thought she was wonderful. After she was put in her grave in Dingle, I heard Mother (Sarah) *and her brother talking. Uncle Tom said, "I wouldn't feel so bad if she could have just lived for the dedication of the Salt Lake Temple." Uncle Jim said, "She will be there, never fear!" The dedication was on the 6th of April and Mother went. She said to me later that President Woodruff got up and spoke. He said, "I have been prompted to say that many of the saints who have passed away are here at this dedication today." Mother said she knew that Grandmother was there. She felt her presence. Some said they saw angels in the room...*

Mamie may have been a few days off on the date--the Salt Lake Temple was dedicated officially on April 16th.

On June 6th George's mother Esther Ann Crismon died in Mesa. His sister Ella announced the news in a heart wrenching letter edged in black. Ella, their father, and three other Mesa siblings had not been present when Ester Ann died. All were reeling with sadness and guilt.

On March 5, 1894 a fourth child, Grant Edward Sirrine, was born to Sarah and George. He died 11 months later.

In June, 1895, James was in the new Salt Lake temple in another family-sealing marathon lasting eight days. His skeptical older brother William had died a few months after their last letter. James stood in proxy for him as he was sealed to his wife (and first cousin) Mary Lakin, who had died falling down the stairs, and to his daughter Annie Jane. He had Mary C sealed to her parents, Ann Oakey to Robert Lakin, and his Aunt Mary Oakey to Thomas Pickering. Each session took a whole day back then.

On January 4, 1896 Utah was granted Statehood.

James Oakey

More genealogical information was coming in from England. In April and May James received letters from John Mottershead, the husband of his niece Alice Barney about his Aunt Lydia's family and later on his cousins Eliza Halcrow and Jemima Clark. On July 6th in response to a letter from James, Rueben Cottee in Nottingham sent information on his family. He had known Lucy and Mary and was married to Jane Newton, James' niece through his sister Kitty. In September Jemima Clarke returned his letter from Birmingham, England.

James wasn't able to get all the temple work done; on New Year's Eve he died of pneumonia. He was buried in the Dingle Cemetery beside Mary C. His pall bearers were the members of the Paris high priests quorum.

From his obituary:

...came to Paris, Idaho in November 1864, where he has lived nearly all the time since. He was a member of the High Priests' quorum; labored as a teacher in the Paris Second ward nearly all the time he lived there; was also an active temple worker, having performed work for many of his kindred and friends. He was almost invariably called upon to assist in Bishop's and High Council trials when a councilor was absent. He was honest and faithful in all his works. He held the office of janitor for the county court house for fourteen years, and fulfilled his duties promptly and faithfully and to the satisfaction of all concerned. He held the office at the time of his death...

I know little about Ann during this time. I do not know whether she took part with James in the temple sealings, although there is evidence that she was collecting genealogical information about her own family in England. I wonder how she felt about having James buried on the other side of the valley. Perhaps she did not question it at all, since Mary C was the first wife. But I think she did.

In announcing the Manifesto in conference, President Woodruff had said, "...(t)his Manifesto only refers to future marriages, and does not affect past conditions. I did not, I could not, and would not promise that you would desert your wives and children. This you cannot do in honor." However, according to Idaho Law, Ann Carson had never been married to James. This fact was not lost on Mary C's children. Just a month after James' death they wrote to Joseph Rich in Boise, who by then was an attorney and a member of the Idaho Legislature.

Dingle Idaho Feb 2nd 1897, Senator J. C. Rich, Boi (sic) *City*

Dear Sir

You have no doubt seen by this time the account of our Father's death. And as he made no Will and the estate being in a bad shape you will understand that we hardly know what to do. The Heirs however were all aggreed to employ you as legal advisor. They also aggreed that Ann Oakey (Fathers wife) Hyrum Oakey and Sarah Sirrine be administrators. We thought everything was all right but on account of sickness we did not go to get appointed administrators. Arthur Taylor and Ann took advantage of this and had George Spencer and Ann Oakey appointed. And we did not see the notices of this until after the time specified in the notice, to protest or object to them. We have been to see Probate Judge "Osmond" and he has granted a stay of Procedings for a short time untill we could write you and get advice as to how to procede, and to get Stay of Procedings untill your return.

By consent of all Parties concerned we hold some of the money and valuable papers. Arthur and Ann however now claim we took them.

We would like to know if in your opinion Ann is a legal wife.

Senator Rich replied promptly, referring to an Idaho statute that defined who is entitled to be administrators in that situation. On the question of Ann's legal status as wife he felt there were "grave questions" but wisely advised that "the wishes and the honor of your Father...ought to receive serious consideration before action thereon....As to Alf Budge[97] accusing you of stealing that is all nonsense..."

Arthur's daughter Margaret wrote her recollections of her grandmother:

I can see her so plain sitting in that old homemade rocking chair. Her hands were so crippled up, big knuckles, fingers out of shape with (rheumatism) is what they called it then. James (her grandson) *would come to her and back up for her to button his pants...Grandma would say "come here" and when she would try it was hard for her. I also remember seeing her on a bed father* (Arthur Taylor) *had fixed for her very close to the wood stove so she could reach to the wood box and put another stick in the side door of those old fashioned stoves that had front fender.*

She lived in what was her home on the north side of Main Street next to where the railroad came through and built the depot. Father thought that was to be his when she died, but like everything else, when a woman was only married by the Church those days, the children inherited all that was their father's (Oakey children). It must have been a long, sad story...Grandma had tried to get Oakey to adopt the children legally so they would truly have his name but Oakey died either before the papers were made out or he could not do it according to Idaho's laws.

Ann Carson Oakey died April 12, 1899 and was buried in the Paris cemetery.

[97] Alfred Budge, son of the Stake President, was a young attorney in Paris, whom Ann and Arthur had evidently retained.

It was not until 1911 that Tom, in consultation with his siblings bought a headstone for $75 made from granite from Salt Lake City's Cottonwood Canyon for James and Mary C's grave in Dingle. He had it inscribed: "Came to Utah 1862."

In December, 1921 Thomas went to Dingle with some "deeds to sign." I think he was working on securing the Paris property. If so, it is possible that it was never settled. In March of 1924 his sister Mary wrote to Lucy Ann, "...so it is all off with the Bear Lake Property. Well my Dear I felt that my last hope was gone when our dear Father passed away."

A sad story.

Epilogue

Of the many types of separation illustrated through the letters and journals examined in this book, four are especially related to 19th century policies of the Mormon Church: colonization, polygamy, church leadership, and missionary work. The first two of these acted directly upon the Oakeys and Sirrines while the third, missionary work, impacted them mostly indirectly. Although James Oakey had been called to head every one of the five branches in Nottingham, after immigrating to Zion he never had an executive church calling, nor did any of the Sirrines so far as I know, although several participated on stake high councils and various ward callings such as Sunday school teacher. But for the three apostles in our story, all four activities had direct impacts upon them and their own families. They handled these in distinctly different ways.

All three were released from missionary work at about the same time. Their last missionary assignment had been to serve in the presidency of the European Mission in England. Charles C. Rich and Amasa Lyman were both released when they returned together with the Oakey family in 1862; George Q. Cannon sent his wife and children home in 1863 before finishing his mission alone, and rejoined his wife Elizabeth and Rosie on October 10, 1864. Their boy and girl who had been born in England had died in his absence.

Colonization was no longer an issue for Lyman and Cannon after that time, but it was for Rich, who with reluctance, obediently accepted one more assignment to colonize just as he was finally settling in with his several families in Centerville. Earlier he had mitigated the separation issues by bringing his younger wives to San Bernardino in the 1850's and now he did it to a greater degree with his call to Bear Lake Valley, eventually assembling all of his families except Sarah "D" Pea in Paris in neighboring, identical houses, and settling there permanently. He remained an apostle all the rest of his life and was highly involved in church leadership in Bear Lake in his initial years there. At first, everything depended upon him. The minutes of priesthood and high council meetings in the 1860's show that not only did Charles C. Rich preside in every meeting, he also offered the opening and closing prayers. However once Stake Presidents David P. Kimball and William Budge were called, his local leadership burden was delegated and reduced. He still managed to stay active in the quorum of the twelve and attend general conference in Salt Lake City regularly. As the Utah and Idaho state line was defined and government matured, he gradually passed his civil government roles to others as well.

Polygamy did not seem to produce significant separation issues for Rich, judging from the research that I have done. The families generally seemed to co-exist in harmony and he was always able to provide sufficient resources for them. Polygamy stress on him was reduced by the fact that his death in 1883 preceded the worst period of polygamy persecution.

For Amasa Lyman, his release from missionary work and church leadership was not a relief—it was involuntary and he took it hard. Losing these was a separation for him.

Upon arriving home from his mission, Lyman was instructed by Brigham Young that his 30+ years of missionary work were over and it was time for him to take care of his wives and children. This was not easy for him; wrapped up in his role as missionary and church authority, he had pretty much left their care up to providence and their neighbors. After a year or so of preaching, attending plays, and liquidating much of his Salt Lake property, he settled into Fillmore, arranging multiple houses for his wives. He served actively in his own ward and traveled considerably to speak elsewhere. He was an entertaining and popular speaker, but it soon became evident that his ideas and beliefs were not entirely orthodox.

The signs of his apostasy had begun years before. While living in San Bernardino, Lyman had become interested in spiritualism and even participated in séances, which he felt were in keeping with principles of Mormonism, but worried Charles C. Rich. His time in England had exposed him to European liberal philosophy and transcendentalism, which led to some creative ideas that expanded his view of Mormonism.

Eventually, word of a provocative sermon he had given on his mission in Dundee, Scotland came into Brigham's hands. On January 27, 1867 he was asked to defend his theological views to his fellow apostles. He was initially defensive, but eventually broke down, admitted his folly, and agreed to publish a retraction and apology in the *Deseret News*. However after it had appeared, he became angry and felt disrespected, and immediately gave another defiant sermon. After a formal report by George Q. Cannon, John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff and George A. Smith to the Quorum of the Twelve, Lyman was disfellowshipped and lost his membership in the Quorum on May 6, 1887. In the next October conference the congregation approved this unanimously.

All of his wives but one (his first wife Maria Louisa) divorced him but many of his children supported him at first. He stayed out of all church activities for a while but in late 1868 became active in his Fillmore ward, and Brigham Young gave him a spot in the exclusive School of the Prophets. However in August 1869, William S. Godbe, a former missionary with Lyman in Britain invited him to join an opposition group called the New Movement, and later the New Church of Zion after Godbe was excommunicated. On May 8, 1870 Lyman had moved back to SLC and announced he had accepted the leadership of the new church. He was immediately visited by three high council members of the Salt Lake stake in which he was staying and by May 12 was excommunicated. Thereafter he plunged ever more deeply into spiritualism, recording daily séances and visits from dead Mormon leaders and western frontier figures. The Godbeite movement fell apart after a few years and Lyman returned to Fillmore in 1873. He died February 4, 1877, just a few months before Brigham Young. His son, Francis M. Lyman, who had served with him as a missionary in England, went on to be a prominent church leader. After Francis had become an apostle he pled that his father should be returned to membership, and that his status as an apostle be restored on grounds of mental illness. This was accomplished two decades later (after the passing of Wilford Woodruff and GQC) when the apostles could reach

agreement, and he was re-baptized and had his blessings restored by Joseph F. Smith on January 12, 1909.

George Q. Cannon's post-mission life could not have been more different from Rich's and Lyman's. After returning from the European Mission, Elder Cannon was immediately absorbed in the work of the Territorial Legislature of which he was the Chair of the Council.

He also took another wife, Eliza Tenney, a 20 year old. Elizabeth was not happy, as evidenced from his journal entry of September 29, 1865:

I met up with my wife and children; they were all doing well health wise, but my wife was upset with me for taking another wife to my house right now. I tried to speak kindly to her, and remind her but it was useless; she was not comforted whatsoever by me. I was extremely troubled by this matter, and so I prayed mightily unto the Lord to help me and to change my wife's heart towards me. On the morning of the Sabbath day she cried a lot and my heart was pained for her. I expressed extensively to her that the thing causing her perplexity was that she was listening to the Evil spirit, and it was necessary for her to repent immediately regarding this matter. I spoke to her in this manner because I knew that she was weak and also that she was ashamed of her behavior. I was very happy after conversing with her because I knew she had repented of her acts and she wanted me to forgive her if I could. I told her that I could forgive her numerous times, every single day, if I knew she was repentant.

He also married Martha Telle, another 20 year old, in 1868, Elizabeth's sister Emily Hoagland in 1881, and divorcee Caroline Partridge Croxall in 1884 during the height of polygamy persecution. Elizabeth had died January 25, 1882.

Cannon was absorbed in publishing the *Juvenile Instructor*, the first issue of which was released on January 20, 1866. From 1867 to 1874 he was the editor of the *Deseret News*. He served as the Territorial Congressman in Washington D.C. from 1972 to 1882, when he was expelled due to the Edmunds-Tucker Act. This excerpt from his journal in January of that year illuminates his interesting view of himself:

<u>Wednesday</u>, Jan. 11, 1882. Fifty-five years ago at 12.15 in the night, or this morning, I was born. Little did my parents suppose what a checkered and remarkable career that baby, born under such obscure circumstances, would pursue. Still I believe they were impressed with the idea that I would be a more than common man. When I was a boy, I may say a child, I knew that I would be famous; this was before my parents had heard the gospel, and after that it was revealed to me that I should be one of the Twelve Apostles, though I never breathed that to any human being — scarcely, in fact, to myself — until after I had been selected to be an apostle. But when I look back at my life it seems very marvelous what the Lord has done for me. From the deepest obscurity, from the midst of a population which teems in my native place, I have been brought forward until to-day I am the most widely-advertised man in (many respects in) the United States. The mere mention of my name to any reading man informs him who I am. I started out in life an exceedingly bashful boy, shrinking and timid, content to shun observation, with no disposition to court prominence; but now I am a target

at which newspapers, preachers and politicians shoot their arrows, and by such attacks hope to gain popularity. My alleged wickedness consists in obeying the commands of God. The head and front of my offending is that I have plural wives. If I kept mistresses I would excite no outcry, for I would be like the world; but I marry wives, and this is the offence which is so rank. To-day has been another day for the anti-polygamists to air their "morality." Men whose private lives are as vile as can be imagined seem to think that in assailing us they are condoning and expiating their own crimes against virtue. Haskell of Kansas was wonderfully loud-mouthed. He thinks he is making political capital by this attack upon me and the Saints. We shall see how much of this he will gain. The Lord has spoken concerning all such, and their fate can be predicted by anyone who has the Spirit of God. The Lord gave me calmness and peace, though for a while it seemed as though the resolution he presented would prevail. I cry to the Lord for deliverance. I feel that something will arise to occupy their attention. My desire is that the Lord will uncover some of the wickedness that is festering underneath the surface which they endeavor to keep so smooth and fair. When I was assailed in the 43rd Congress, and the Com. on Elections was prying into my domestic affairs, I was led to tell them that they would soon have scandal enough, and exposures to their hearts' content, and the country would ring with the sound thereof. The Beecher church exposures and trial soon followed and the people of the entire country was nauseated with the disgusting details. Last winter the Lord revealed to me that events would take place that would vex the ears of the nation and they would have division and trouble and perplexity and sorrow, and they were close at hand. This I knew before Garfield's inauguration, and it was confirmed more fully after his message was delivered. Conkling's quarrel with him and Guiteau's bullet brought the fulfillment of all this. What will be next? Will there be trouble? Yes, as sure as the Lord lives. These attacks upon Zion do not pass unnoticed. Humble and unimportant as I am, I am still his servant, and to such he has made promises, (and those who attack me cannot prosper.) This nation will be vexed with a sore vexation. Sorrow and mourning and strife and division are at the door. I know the Lord will save his people and his anger will fall upon those who seek the destruction of his work.

After that time he was frequently in hiding from Federal Marshals in Utah. In September 1888 he surrendered and pled guilty to unlawful cohabitation and served six months in the Utah Federal Penitentiary. He was pardoned in 1894 by President Grover Cleveland. I assume he was also pardoned by Elizabeth in the spirit world.

He first served in the LDS first presidency under Brigham Young in 1874 until Brigham's death in 1877. He was first counselor to his uncle, John Taylor, and in every first presidency after that until his death at age 74 in 1901. Had he lived six months longer, he would probably have become the prophet after President Snow.

George Warren and Esther Ann Sirrine, who between them had made homes in New York, Illinois, Missouri, Iowa, Nebraska, Utah, California, Idaho, and Arizona settled after 1877 in their final spot, the Mesa colony they helped establish, leading lives no more dominated by

Joel Sirrine and his third wife, Caroline Simkins

church policies than modern Mormons. For the most part, their many children and grandchildren lived near to them in Arizona. Except for George, only their son Joel, who tragically lost two young wives in two years and relocated with a third to Heyburn, Idaho to become water master, moved away from Mesa during their lifetimes. In Mesa, George Warren Sirrine made a significant and lasting contribution. He was a leader in bringing the water from the Salt River to Mesa, constructing the division gates and turnouts, and serving as President of the Mesa Canal Company for several years. Along with his nephew and adopted son Theodore, he laid out the town site of Mesa with Mormon-style streets 132 feet wide, built the first flour mill, and saved the first sugar crop by designing and building a shaft for the molasses mill. He successfully negotiated with the people of Phoenix for water rights and dug the first well. He served as a lay physician for the community, widely believed to have a special power to stop bleeding in humans and animals, even from a distance. He served as one of Mesa's initial four councilmen and in the first High Council of the LDS stake.[98]

Esther Ann Crismon

Esther Ann died June 6, 1893. She was 56 years old. Her husband was not with her at her death, having been on a trip to New York to visit his childhood home. He received the news in Chicago on his return trip, but did not arrive in time for her funeral. Also absent were her children Ellie, Emeline, Warren LeRoy, and of course George Edward, a sad fact not only for Esther Ann, but also for the others, especially her husband, who were filled with feelings of guilt as well as grief. George Warren Sirrine died nine years later in Mesa at age 83 on September 2, 1902.

George Warren Sirrine

For James Oakey and his wives Mary Cooper and Ann Carson, the issue of polygamy was never resolved, and continues to affect their descendants to this day. As far as I can tell, neither wife ever accepted the other. Mary C's anger over the second marriage seemed to be directed at both James and Ann, "the second," as Mary C termed her. From the single letter in my possession written by Ann, there is little doubt that Ann was frustrated by both James and Mary C. I have no record that suggests they were angry with the Mormon Church, or more accurately at Brigham Young personally, whose sermon in Paris actually directly precipitated the practice of polygamy in the family, although that cannot be said for the Oakey descendants. The two families seem rarely, if ever, to have mingled while their mothers were alive, and then squabbled over the property after their

[98] Mesa Tribune, Mesa Jubilee Edition, Friday, July 24, 1953.

parents' deaths. In later generations the whole matter has naturally lost its intensity as indicated the resignation expressed by Ann's granddaughter Margaret Taylor Dorrity, "...Father (Arthur Taylor) thought that (house) was to be his when she died, but like everything else, when a woman was only married by the church those days, the children inherited all that was their fathers (Oakey children.)" My own grandmother, Mamie Sirrine Ream, Sarah's daughter, said to her children about polygamy, "Don't say you don't believe it; just say you don't understand it." Many descendants in the later generations of the Oakeys, especially the females, tend neither to believe nor understand the practice.

I think James took the view that he too was an innocent victim of polygamy, caught in the middle between his two wives, having entered the practice purely motivated by obedience to the Lord's prophet. He considered himself a devoutly religious man and generally lived that way. Although a few of his letters betray anger and a hot temper, his son Hyrum wrote of him, "...the strongest word he used when provoked was son of a gun." Finding that all efforts that he took to reconcile his family seemed futile, he turned to the virtual and future reconciliation of families offered by his religion, employing extensive genealogical research and temple sealings. Many letters in Sarah's collection are the sometimes baffled responses of relatives from England to James' queries regarding birthdates, death dates, aunts, and uncles. Some of the writers, such as his brother William and Mary C's step-sister Selina, were openly hostile to Mormonism. Others were supportive and friendly, such as his uncle Barney Loundes, but almost all contributed the information he requested. Some remained personally in contact by letters with the Oakey family in America for years. Many deceased family members were eventually baptized by proxy, endowed, and sealed to each other by James and his family in marathon sessions at the newly opened Logan and Salt Lake Temples. His research and records have been the foundation for future family genealogists using modern technologies to vastly expand the Oakey family tree.

George and Sarah finally solved their physical separation problem by the only means left to them—George gave in and moved back to Dingledelle. To his credit, this was not without serious sacrifice. He left his birth family. One of them had to do that. He gave up the home he had built for Sarah, his business, and his property. And he gave up the church calling made to his family to colonize Mesa. He continued to be a horse person, a drover, and made trips to Mesa.[99] On August 24, 1888 George and Sarah had another son, James Warren Sirrine. The following February George's brother Warren LeRoy wrote that he had sold George's house in Mesa for $500. A daughter, Sarah Maud, was born in Dingledelle on September 5, 1890.

George around 1903

[99] See page 26.

On March 5, 1894 Sarah bore another son, Grant Edward, who died the following January at ten months of age. In November, 1896, George was elected Justice of the Peace in Dingle.

On July 24, 1897 George's father, George Warren Sirrine, returned to visit him in Dingle, 20 years after moving to Mesa. That winter Sarah's last child, Lucy Emeline Sirrine was born Dec 22, 1897.

In 1899 George bought a stallion named Lord Heywood from Bennett and Sons. That summer his brother Warren LeRoy came from Mesa to visit, bringing his wife Rettie and six children. They stayed for weeks, seeing the sights and then went to Tom and Ann Oakey's in Salt Lake City to witness the celebration of the return of the Rough Riders from Cuba and to receive their temple endowments and sealing.

L-R: George, Mamie, Emeline, Warren, Sarah, 1906

Maude

In November, 1902 Sarah Maude died. She was twelve years old.

Emeline wrote her memories of George in those days:

I do not remember father being away from home very much, but he did drive bands of horses to California from Bear Lake. Mother always worried about him—Indians and robbers. He never encountered trouble. He always brought home sacks of nuts, pomegranates and dried fruit.

Father loved to take us to the lake eight miles away, and when we knew it was going to rain, we also knew there was going to be a trip to the lake--picnic and what goes with it--for when it rained, the hay had to dry and we went along on a family excursion. He also loved to take us berrying and he would put us on one of the big horses and I would play that I was in the circus. Father took delight in having the best span of horses in the valley. Someone was always wanting him to break or train a team of horses or riding horses. He loved his horses and cattle. His judgment was sought in matters of irrigation, building and many pioneer projects

On March 8, 1905 George's brother Joel sent a telegram asking for George's power of attorney to sell some Mesa property. In 1906 George hired Tom Oakey, Sarah's brother, to come from Salt Lake to build a frame house in Dingle. In 1906 Mamie and her cousin Maida started school at the new Fielding Academy in Paris. Warren stayed in Dingle because he was needed for farm chores. However, for some reason the girls were rejected and had to wait until September 1907 to return. Mamie by then was 22 years old; Warren was 20 and went to Paris with them.

That October Sarah received a letter of concern for George from her niece Lucy Ann, hearing that he had been sick. On November 13, Sarah wrote to George's sister Ellie in Mesa, describing just how sick George had been. He had no use of his right side, and had pain when moving his arm or leg, totally helpless in bed. His brother Joel had visited two weeks earlier from Heyburn, Idaho and stayed two days. Ten days later Sarah wrote to the Sirrines in Mesa again, asking Warren LeRoy to send the money from the buy-out of George's Mesa holdings. On December 28, Joel, who was sick himself, sent all the letters that he had received from Sarah to his brother Warren LeRoy, urging him to help Sarah financially. As far as I can tell, the money was never sent. On January 21, 1908 George Edward Sirrine died. He was only 54 years old.

In June, 1909 his son Warren Sirrine left for London, England on a mission. Fortuitously, the Telluride Company came to Bear Lake with a large project and Sarah was able to take in temporary workers as boarders to support Warren's mission. He returned after two years.

Sarah wrote or saved comparatively few letters between Warren's return and her own ventures away from Dingle fifteen years later. Therefore the information about her life during that time comes from other sources.

After Warren was married in 1918 he brought his new wife Catherine Quayle into Sarah's frame house. Sarah only needed the middle bedroom for herself. She was only a short walk away from Mamie's family, to whom she had given the cabin in 1914 when Mamie married Wesley Ream, and spent much of her time there, helping to raise Mamie's children, who became very attached to her, calling her "Ma."

In the following years, Sarah made many trips to Salt Lake City at general conference time on October and April, usually traveling with her brother Hyrum and staying with Tom and Ann. This allowed her to stay close to her cousin Rosie. In 1919, her youngest daughter Emeline was called on a mission to the Eastern States. I do not know exactly how Sarah was able to support her in this. That year, Tom's wife Ann died of breast cancer. Sarah was in Salt Lake helping Tom to take care of her when Ann died October 22 at the age of 80. After that Sarah spent even more time with Tom in Salt Lake keeping house for him. He finally put an ad in the paper for a housekeeper to allow Sarah to return home.

In 1921 Sarah wrote to Emeline that she was sending money to allow her to return from her mission.

In January, 1922, Tom convalesced with Sarah in Dingle for several weeks. On February 19, she took Tom to the old folks' party, but he got sick and she had to take him home. He said he did not want to die in Dingle, so she packed him carefully in a sleigh, and had her sons deliver him to the train in Montpelier bound for Salt Lake. On July 22, Thomas Oakey died in his daughter Lucy's care at age 82.

Sarah lived for 20 more years after Tom died. Much of that time was spent away from her home in Dingle. In October, 1927 she was in Mesa, Arizona with her brother Hyrum and her son Warren and his wife Catherine to visit the Sirrines there. Instead of returning to

Dingle she lived for about seven months in Provo, Utah with Emeline and her roommates. Emeline was completing a degree in teaching at BYU. Sarah continued to room with Emeline the following year in Paris, when Emeline began teaching at Fielding High School, keeping house for Emeline and for Mamie's oldest son Jean, who was attending high school there. Sarah was finally released from her church calling in the Primary in 1931 after having served at least 47 consecutive years. Emeline married Lelland Wright in 1932, after which the couple moved to Madison, Wisconsin for graduate studies.

Of Sarah's many poems she wrote just one to herself, this one which I found among her letters. She said it was a 79th birthday gift. It was written on much-damaged, coarse paper with a part torn out. She seems to begin, then start again. I have guessed at the missing parts.

A Prayer

If I could make one heart felt wish
My dearest girl for you
And know with no uncertainty
It surely would come true
I would not wish for pleasure great
I would not wish for n(ew).

A Prayer

The days of youth have long since passed
Life's noon has come and gone
In trying ways our lot's been cast
But still we are carrying on
(I feel it) *deep within my soul*
(As) *shadows draw their length*
(Made) *known to me in many ways*
(That) *we've been given strength*
O gentle Spirit walk with us
Be thou our faithful friend
Help us to keep a prayerful heart
Be with us to the end.

Beginning in 1935 Sarah spent most of her time in Salt Lake helping with Emeline's pregnancy, her twin boys, and then with the grandchildren who followed. Around 1939 Sarah fell while getting out of bed in the night and fractured her hip. She never recovered from this injury and lived the next three years as an invalid with Emeline's family. In 1940 she was able to document that she had lived in Utah for five of the previous nine years to qualify for old age pension. She wrote prolifically to her Dingle family during that time,

especially to her grandchildren, urging them to love each other, do their best, and of course, faithfully attend primary.

She died in Dingle on August 12, 1942 at the age of 88.

One of Mamie's children, Mary Ida Ream Burgoyne, wrote the following memory of Sarah's daily visit to her home in Dingle:

... (Ma) *came out of the house. She was about 70 years old. Her hair was nearly white, pulled back neatly braided in a thin braid wound in a circle and pinned like a bun to the back of her head. She was just about 5' tall and seemed ever so big around to her small grandchildren. Her dresses were about ankle length and were usually dark colored with small prints....* (She) *made her way towards Mamie's and Wesley's home...along the ¼ mile path to the southeast. Along the road to the pasture she passed the "little trees" of Carol Lynn's poem.*[100] *...A little further she passed the path leading down the hill to the spring...over the sparkling rocks and watercress and on to the pond to the west where mud hens and ducks* (lived).... *I remember her washing and cooling freshly churned butter there...*(and) *washing newly sheared wool, sticky with lanolin in big tubs and putting it out to dry on clean cloths. The road continued south through a gate and down the hill to a meadow. To the East in the middle of the field was an irrigation ditch lined with red currants....Inside the fence and east of the gate was a haystack....Just beyond the fence was a granary where Wesley kept the grain until it was used or sold. Here Sarah would pause and call. Helen, Mary Ida, and Hazel Dawn were to be available to go and help "Ma." The gate was tricky and the path a little uneven. We had to keep the rooster from attacking her....*

I remember her taking a bath. She wore the long ordinance garments and never wanted to be without them. When she bathed, one half was removed (that was possible as they buttoned all down the front) in order to bathe one side. Clean garments were then put on that side and the soiled ones completely removed so the other half of the body could be cleaned. It was a little complicated. Her garments were...not allowed to fall on the floor.

Sarah Oakey was adored by her grandchildren as a pioneer heroine. She was not the grandmother you only visit on Christmas and Thanksgiving—she lived in their households and nurtured and worried over every one of them. I think she held on to the letters to bring all of her family and friends as close to her as possible, never imagining they might help to heal the separation of generations.

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[100] Carol Lynn Pearson, *Beginnings and Beyond,* (Springville, Utah, CFI, 2011) p. 42. Carol Lynn is a granddaughter of Sarah Oakey through Emeline.

Appendix: Biographies of Three Minor Characters

Mary, Mary, Quite Contrary and her Daughter, “Little Lucy”

When Mary was born on June 9, 1843 her family was living in the first house on Lenton Row in Hyson Green, a village northwest of Nottingham Castle and adjacent to a steam-driven lace factory. In his journal, her brother Tom described it as "a large nice house with a yard and a large garden and a square grass plot and a lilac tree in the middle on which I used to play. This is where I spent the happy hours of my childhood." I assume that Mary’s childhood was similar in many ways, though as a girl and second child to a faithful, hyper-achieving brother, her life took a radically different course. She was five years old when her father was laid off from work as a journeyman lacemaker and decided to try his hand at sales with his brother-in-law Thomas Clarke. They left their families for several months for Yorkshire with lace and hosiery goods. The next year the Oakeys had moved back in with Mary’s grandparents at Prospect Place in Lenton. It was there in 1848 that her father first encountered the Mormons, when a missionary named Elder Lees preached in a room close to their house. Tom, only eight, “sued” to go with his father to hear him. Later that year, James began working at a lace factory on Mansfield Road on the north end of Nottingham, and by the middle of the year the family had moved to that area.

A small Mormon community had arisen around Mansfield Road, meeting in the Saint Ann's Street Chapel, and over several months in 1850 Mary's parents, her grandfather Oakey, and Tom, then ten years old, were baptized. Her grandmother, Catherine Oakey, was baptized a year later. The children attended Sunday school in Saint Ann's Street Chapel. Tom went to work winding bobbins. James went across town to Plumptre Street to work for Mr. Thomas Roberts and Son operating a Jacquard lace machine.

The family returned to live with Mary's grandparents at Prospect Place to care for her grandmother, who had become ill in January of 1853, but by March James had moved his family to a shop close by, which he obtained from a Brother Johnson, who was emigrating.

In that year Mary turned ten years old. She had five siblings: Tom age 13, Lucy eight, Fred four, and Joseph two.

On Utah's 6th Pioneer Day July 24, 1853, James took Mary and Lucy to be baptized in the Trent River, which flows past Nottingham. According to Tom's journal, Mary refused, being frightened by the water. This is the first of several instances we know of Mary going her own way, though it may not have been from pure willfulness. A year earlier, a young Mormon priest named Barnes, who was known to the Oakey family, had been swept away while attempting to baptize a young woman in the Trent River four miles outside of Nottingham. His body was recovered six weeks later.

LDS baptism for the dead has probably never been performed for Mary because the Mormon Church considers her to have been personally baptized on 17 February, 1850. If so, Mary would have been only six years old. This is possibly a confusion with her mother Mary Cooper Oakey's baptism near that date. Tom's journal gives Mary Cooper's baptism date as March 10, 1850 performed by Elder William Brewerton of Willard, Utah. LDS Family Tree gives Mary Cooper's baptismal date as June 22, 1859, but without documentation. This conflicts with Tom's diary and she would have been 4-5 months pregnant with Hyrum on that date. It is possible that her mother had been re-baptized on that date. A second baptism was a common practice then.

In September, the boys all contracted smallpox. Joseph, age 2½, died. Two months later the family moved back to Hyson Green, where her father had been made the branch president. In March of 1854 James was released and made president of the Nottingham Branch. Four days later Sarah was born. James was released from the Nottingham Branch in January, 1855 and appointed branch president in the new Barford Branch in March. In August her parents took a long day trip to London on the new Great Northern Railway. Mary was 13 years old.

Since her brother Tom's journal contains a gap from this point until resuming in 1862, we know little about the family during Mary's early teen years. It is clear that those were dominated by her family's involvement in Mormonism and the development of Nottingham's industrial rise. Her older brother was involved along with his father in both, proselyting with the missionaries, undergoing rebaptism, and finishing his apprenticeship in lace making including the Jacquard specialty. Little is known of Mary's work experience, which probably began at an early age. Her younger sister Sarah, for example, reported having worked before she left for America at age eight, drawing threads in the lace factory. In the 1861 census when Mary was 17, her occupation was given as "lace dresser." Her sixteen-year-old sister Lucy was working as a "lace cutter." We know of no formal schooling for Mary, but she likely had some. Tom reports in his journal that he began school at age five, which continued until his apprenticeship. From Mary's later history and from the few letters in our possession, it is clear that she was much more literate than Tom. Her letters are articulate, demonstrating good spelling and penmanship. Her mother was uncomfortable writing, having dictated many of her letters for others to write, so it is

unlikely that Mary was educated in the home and probably attended school. By the standards of that day, the family was not poor, but rather middle class. Evidence for this is the good standing James enjoyed in the lace industry by the time the family emigrated. A photo of Mary and Lucy taken around 1856 shows them to be well dressed, well-coiffed, and looking much like the daughters of Queen Victoria in a photo of the same era. The very fact that they sat for a formal photograph at that time is evidence of their social standing, as is their father's perpetual position of leadership in several Mormon branches.

Lucy and Mary (R)

The Queen's daughters

It seems clear that Mary was not so involved with the Mormon Church as her brother Tom, although it is likely that she attended Sunday school and other church activities along with the rest of the family. It may be significant that Mary was not baptized when she had a second opportunity in 1856 when Tom, her brother Jim, her parents, and her grandparents were re-baptized. Although Tom writes about activities with friends, cousins, and his brother Jim, there is no mention of associations with Mary. While it is possible to read too much into such an omission, since they were close in age one wonders if there might have been some second-child tension directing Mary's interests in an opposite direction from Tom's.

The six-year gap in Tom's journal leaves a similar gap in our understanding of Mary during her crucial late-teen years. We can assume that she likely continued to work in the lace industry, lived with the family, received some education, and had some social life through the church and through her work associations. From later events we can infer that she had a boyfriend at this time.

Her youngest brother Hyrum was born in November of 1859. The 1861 England census shows them living in St. Mary's Parish in Nottingham, right in the lace district. Mary's eight

year old cousin Rosina (Rosie) Matthews, the orphaned daughter of James' sister Mary who had lived across town in Radford, was living with the family. Rosie, Fred (Alfred), and Sarah were all listed in the census as "scholars," further evidence that Mary had probably gone to school herself before starting work.

It was in 1860 that the Mormon apostles George Q. Cannon and Charles C. Rich became presidents of the Mormon European Mission. They became acquainted with the Oakey family during the following two years, sometimes staying with the Oakey family. Joseph C. Rich, the apostle's eldest son, was assigned to Nottingham as a missionary and likely boarded with the family part of the time when Mary was seventeen to nineteen years old. I would like to know how they related to each other.

On April 3, 1862 Tom's journal opens with this note: "...Pres G Q Cannon called at night. Proposed for Mother, Sarah, and Hyrum and Alfred to go along with us Thos, Mary, Lucy, James to the Valley." Evidently the Mormon apostle was altering a previous plan to ship only the four older children to Utah, adding Mary's mother and the younger children to the group of 500 Saints in the charge of missionary James S. Brown. Additional money was borrowed from the church's immigration fund and from members living in Nottingham. Mary's father James stayed in Nottingham, delaying his emigration one year in order to pay off the loans. The Cannons, who were at that time still childless, took Rosie with them to their home in Liverpool and eventually to Utah where they adopted her. At the last minute funds were borrowed to add Ann Varney, Tom's girlfriend, to the group. Ann was delighted, although her family was not. They were not members of the LDS church. It was up to her Aunt Harriet to help her arrange her things and to see her off.

Barely two weeks after the apostle's advice, except for James the whole family plus Ann Varney and Mary's 17 year old cousin Edwin (Ted) Matthews, Rosie's brother, were on their way to Zion. They took the wonderfully new railroad south to London, then to Liverpool, where they were met by Brother Brown and Joseph C. Rich, missionaries who had stayed with them in Nottingham. During their third day in Liverpool they moved their luggage from the boarding house to the ship and were assigned berths.

Then the family experienced a catastrophe--Mary ran away from them to her boyfriend, James Etherington.

The ship was delayed for a search, but at 3 pm the next day, April 20, it moved to a neighboring dock and on April 23 was towed to sea and set sail without her.

Understandably both James and Tom expressed anger at Jim Etherington. I suspect that Mary's feelings about leaving her family were similar to those of Ann Varney, who left her own family that same week, but to go to Utah. Both young women were about the same age, left their families for love, for adventure, and for a brand new life. Though their motives may have differed, it seems clear that her behavior was consistent with Mary's general nature to stand up for herself.

Letters exchanged between her parents expressed their grief and exasperation, leaving no doubt that Mary's abduction caused severe and lasting pain to her family. Most Oakey descendants know little more about Mary than this story. She is usually referred to as “the girl who ran away.”

Mary was not permanently lost to the family, although her father's first efforts to find her failed. He wrote to the family just a week after they set out to sea that he had looked for the young couple in Lenton, where Jim Etherington's parents lived. They were not at home, but he spoke with church members of his former branch who had seen her and told him she was with Hanna Astle, an acquaintance of the family, and had returned to her job. He learned from them that Mary had been expecting Jim all along to come for her, having received a note in her hand at the station yard before leaving Nottingham.

Mary’s mother wrote:

...when Mary left us it was a sorce of great Sorrow and Greaf to us all but when we found that she was gon for a certentity and we could do no better than to leave her we reconciled houre feelings as best we could and in Greaf we sailed away...

By the time the Oakeys had arrived in Salt Lake City in October there were signs of reconciliation between Mary and her family. James wrote his wife that Mary was often attending Mormon services and had attended a party at the Arboretum with Jim, enjoying "...themselves first rate." Later enjoying tea with James, Mary had sent "her very kind love to you and all the children and all inquiring friends."

He said that Mary intended to come to Utah if the way opened up for her, but that he was not sure he could afford to pay her way. He reported that his wife's relatives at Honley (Mary's Aunt Ann Jaggar and her daughter Eliza) had invited Mary to make a visit, but that she couldn't go as she was short of work.

James had enclosed the above letter in another one to Joseph Rich at his home in Salt Lake City to deliver to the family when they arrived. Rich forwarded it to Caseward, now Kaysville, where they had settled in a dugout. He had received it Nov 1, 1862 and forwarded it to Mary's mother with a cover letter confessing that he had not yet written a promised letter to Mary, but would shortly do it. Evidently he had heard the story of Mary's desertion when he met the Oakeys in transit at Florence, Nebraska, and had agreed to intervene. It is not unreasonable to suspect that Elder Rich, who was just two years older than Mary when he had stayed at the Oakey home, had more than a passing relationship with the Oakey girls.

In his last letter to the family before his own emigration to Utah in 1863, James said he was hoping that Mary would come with him "as she had promised." She had moved in with her father, still short of work. Mary's grandmother, Catherine Oakey had recently died and James hoped to bring Grandfather Oakey along as well. Mary was not yet married to Jim and had said she was willing to leave Jim to go to Utah, hoping he would come the following year. James cautioned his wife not to fret about Mary, but noted that Jim and Mary's Aunt

"Seleaner" (Selina Fellows, Mary's maternal aunt) were both doing all they could to get her to stay in England. They succeeded, at least for a while.

As it turned out, James Oakey came to Utah alone. Mary's grandfather never made the trip, though he remained a faithful Mormon to his death ten years later. And it would be about that long before Mary would leave England.

Grandfather Oakey wrote from Nottingham on July 6, 1864 in answer to a question from James, that for a long time he had not seen Mary and Jim attending church meetings. At that time Mary was rooming with Sidney Pickering at New Bradford, where Grandfather occasionally called to invite her to attend to the principles of the gospel. Mary was also in contact with her Uncle William, James' older brother and a critic of Mormonism, who wrote to James that he was shocked by what Mary had told him regarding the practices of Mormonism in Utah, "…which if only a tenth were true should make any virtuous person to blush with shame." Evidently Mary had her own reservations.

On February 6, 1865 a wedding was recorded at Saint Peter's Church in Nottingham between Mary Oakey and James Etherington.

The informative letters between James and his wife Mary Cooper ceased for a time after his arrival in Utah. They were again separated when James took his two oldest sons to settle what was to be his permanent home of Paris, Idaho in 1864. In the spring of 1865 Mary's mother wrote to her from the town now known as Kaysville through a scribe:

Case Ward, Utah Territory 16

...James said in his letter you was about to get married and if you have done so we wish you much happiness and if you have not done so I would say to you keep single till you come out eare or about the time you mean to start for it is a hard journey to bring a baby.

...You said in your last letter James was very kind to you. I hope he will continue so... If I could pop in and spend the evening it would be almost equal to the Gospel. I want you and James to write me a letter as quick as you get this. Take care and I will assist you as soon as I can.

From your affectionate Mother, Mary Oakey

We possess one letter written by her father James before his wife and the younger children joined him in Paris. There is no mention in it of Mary.

Mary's grandfather James Oakey Sr. was still living at Prospect Place in Radford on March 20, 1868, when he wrote to his family in Paris, Idaho that he was glad to hear that their circumstances were improving. He informed them that their daughter Mary had left Prospect Place (where she had evidently been living with her grandfather), and was now living in Horshard Street, Old Radford. She would write to them soon and send a likeness of "Little Lucy," her baby, with one of the emigrants.

In the St. Peters district of the 1871 England census, Jim and Mary were found living on Norton Street in Radford with a three year old daughter named Lucy. Jim was working as a lace maker. No occupation was given for Mary, who had apparently stopped seeking work to be a full time mother.

It is not known exactly when Mary came to America.

An undated handwritten note recording birth and death days for various members of the Oakey family written by Mary's youngest sister Sarah sometime between 1925 and 1942 gives a very brief description of Mary's life including the story of running away from the ship. Although the document is inaccurate in several ways, the dates given for Mary's birth and for her death in 1925 are accurate. The note states that Mary followed the family to Utah five or six years after their own emigration. This is consistent with her documented marriage in Nottingham in 1865, but not with the 1871 census data placing her in England with a three year old child. Sarah states that Mary had two children with Jim Etherington: a daughter and a boy named William, who died, which would imply that she could not have left until at least a year after the census. She does not appear in the 1881 England census. This is not surprising since the Oakey letter collection shows her in Utah by then, which will be discussed later.

A person named James Hetherington (an alternative spelling often used by the family), with the same age and place of birth for Mary's Jim is found in the 1881 census in Oldham, Lancashire working as a gardener, probably for the Clarksfield Cricket Club. He is married to a woman named Emma and has two children, James, aged 7, and William aged 6 months. Ten years later the census finds him at a different address in Oldham, widowed, and still working as a gardener. James is 16 and William is 11. James Jr. would have been born in 1874 or 1875. I could find no marriage record for Jim and Emma, who was also from Lenton. If Sarah's assertion is true, Mary's baby William likely would have been born and died at least a year before James Jr. so Mary probably left for America in 1873 or 1874.

The acting European Mission President at that time was Lester James Herrick, who years later gave shelter to "Little Lucy" at his home in Ogden. (Note: Both her brother Tom and Mary Oakey named their firstborn daughter "Lucy," likely in remembrance of their sister who died crossing the plains. The family distinguish them by calling Mary's child, who was four years younger "Little Lucy"). This suggests that he may have known Mary and Lucy during his mission, which ended June 14, 1874. It is possible that he had a role in bringing them to Utah at that time.

The first mention in the family letters of Mary and Lucy in Utah is possibly a letter from Hyrum Oakey written April 24, 1874 mentioning that Lucy was staying with his mother Mary Cooper Oakey in her home in Paris, Idaho. It is possible that he was speaking of Lucy Ann, the daughter of his brother Tom. But later that year, when Sarah was visiting Tom's family in Salt Lake City, her boyfriend John Pomeroy asked her in a letter to say hello to her sister Mary for him on November 25. John was from Paris, Idaho, although he had written from Dingledelle, where he was visiting Sarah's brothers. He had probably met Mary in

Paris earlier that year, when she left "Little Lucy" to stay with her grandmother. On December 15th, Hyrum wrote: "We heard Mary was married, but I do not think it is the truth." It wasn't. Then on January 21, 1875 Mary's brother Alfred also wrote to Sarah, "Tell Tom and Ann and Mary to write to us."

In a letter written October 14, 1875 from Salt Lake City, her father James mentioned Mary: "Mary as got work at Mrs. Dye in Main St." Her mother mentioned her two weeks later. She was definitely in contact with her family. No family letters mention Mary or Lucy during the next two years.

On August 23, 1877 Ann Varney Oakey, Tom's wife, wrote that Little Lucy had called on them. "(She) got home last night. Said they did not come to Dingledelle because no one would bring them." Lucy was ten. She must have been traveling through Montpelier on the train, headed toward Salt Lake. "Thomas says that Mary got home last Thursday, though we have not seen her yet." Lucy was accompanied, since Ann wrote, "them," but evidently not by Mary, who had arrived six days earlier. It is mystery to me why they would be traveling separately. Later letters mention Mary in Oregon. Perhaps that is where they had been. It is possible that they had been there over a year, since they were not mentioned by the family during that interval.

Mary appears in an undated family photograph of the Oakeys in Salt Lake City. Her youngest brother, Hyrum appears to have reached his full height, probably about 18 years old, which would date the photo to 1877.[101]

We have found no record of a divorce in England prior to Mary's parting with Jim. Nonetheless, she was to marry twice more.

On December 18, 1878 Sarah wrote, "Mary is fixing up her house to marry Mr. James. She has laid his carpet over her old one, brought in his cook stove, and (is) 'putting on lots of stile.' They will have their wedding at the house."

The journal of Judge Elias Smith records a wedding between Mary Eherington (sic) and Joseph James in Salt Lake City on 24 Dec 1878. Lucy would have been 11 years old and Mary was 35.

In a letter written January, 1880, Mary' sister Sarah mentioned Joe James in a letter describing her own wedding party, which had occurred the previous November. "We had a few there (at Tom's home) and they seemed to enjoy themselves. Joe James said he had not felt so well since his wedding. They had all the beer and wine they wanted..." She went on to explain that Joe had been involved in a mine accident and came to her party on crutches and with injuries to his face and shoulders, expecting to miss work for a long time. Two men had been killed in the mine since then, one in the same spot where Joe had stood. At this time Mary was said to have a store in Salt Lake City next to the Standard Hairstore (sic)

[101] See page 40.

and doing quite well. Little Lucy was going to the Catholic School and getting (to be) quite a nice girl.

It is possible that Mary became pregnant and lost a child during her short marriage to Joe. This conjecture is based solely on her entry in the 1900 U.S. census that she had birthed three children, but only one was living.

In Sarah's brief biographical sketch of Mary we find this line: "She married Mr. James but he died sometime after." This is not quite true; they were divorced. A miner named Joseph James is listed in the 1900 U. S. census in Leadville, Colorado as "widowed."

The Oakey letter collection includes an interesting letter sent to Mary's brother Tom written February 24, 1881 by J. W. James from Basin Mine, probably the Great Basin Silver mine near Stockton, Utah. Mr. James was by then an out-of-luck prospector planning to move to Woods River, Idaho, where he felt his luck could be no worse than it had been in Utah. He was hoping that Tom could let him know the reason why Mary "has not gotten the divorce yet." He thought she had gotten it long ago, but had received a letter from her on the 9th of January informing him that the lawyer wanted to see him and was going to send the sheriff after him. Not knowing why a sheriff would want to see him and lacking the money to go to Salt Lake anyway, he wanted Tom to tell him how things were.

On May 23, 1881 Lucy Ann Oakey, Tom's daughter wrote "Aunt Mary has got her divorce...Mr. Thomas is there (at Aunt Mary's) as thick as ever," suggesting that part of the reason the marriage ended so soon might have been another man. That would have been John W. Thomas, who eventually married Mary in Contra Costa, California in 1892. This was to be a long courtship.

In December 1881, Bessie Oakey, wife of Mary's brother Jim, who was 15 when Mary jumped ship and who now had a family of four children living in Ogden, wrote casually to their sister Sarah in Dingle, Idaho that she heard of Mary sometimes through Mrs. Howell when she goes to "the City." Bessie wrote further, "I had heard of her trying to sell out, and going to travel, that she had saved up quite a little sum, and that she was going to San Francisco first..."

Coincidentally, on that very same day Mary herself wrote to Sarah. On the back of the letter was written "please give this to Sarah Sirrine," suggesting that the letter had been inserted into a letter to someone else or hand carried.

Dec 6 / 81 Salt Lake City

Dear Sister

I am selling out my stock of millinery goods at less than cost if you would like to get some to start a business. I will give you them very cheep as I am going to take a rest and enjoy my life a bit with what I have made so I will give you a chance to make a little. I will give you five Hundred Dollars worth of goods for 2 two Hundred Dollars in cash and they are all ready for selling. Now this is a good chance for you to make money. You may as well get them as

anyone else as I shall sell at auction, so I will give them to you at less than half what they cost me. They are all nice new goods and I know you can sell them easy. If you want aney of them send word by return of post as I want to leave in a few Days so let me know at once.

Hopeing this will find you all well give my love to mother and the boys and except the same yourself.

from your sister
Mrs. J. Etherington

be sure and write by return address:
Mrs. J. Etherington
Salt Lake City
Utah Teri
Box 1176

It is not clear whether Mary took Lucy with her to California, nor how long the trip lasted. On January 19, 1882 Tom's Lucy Ann wrote, "Gramma, don't let Aunt Mary bother you. She's enjoying herself in San Francisco with Mr. Thomas. Little Lucy is well."

On March 18, 1882 in a letter to Tom, her father James asked whether they knew where Mary was—he wanted to know about her.

The next we know about Mary is from a letter written on January 6, 1884 from her brother Jim's little girl, Ada, who was then ten years old and living in Ogden. "Aunt Mary and Little Lucy visited last night." Mary was in Ogden all winter. On March 17th another niece, Lucy Ann, wrote to Sarah that Mary had gone to Portland for work without 16 year old Little Lucy, having left her in Ogden. Little Lucy had dropped in on Tom's family in Salt Lake City while waiting for Mary to send for her—but said she might go back to Ogden. I believe that she had been staying with Lester Harrick's family. That April Lucy Ann wrote again to Sarah not without a hint of judgmentalness, "Cousin Lucy is still at her place. Her Ma has sent her a new dress with buttons and lingings (leggings? linings?) to match and 5 dollars to get it made with but she has spent the 5 dollars in jewelry and the dress ain't made."

On August 24, 1884 Sarah's husband George Sirrine was living in Mesa, Arizona. He wrote, "Mary wrote from Portland that she wants to come down here with friends to live. Asked me the prospects for millinery and dress shops in Phoenix and Mesa." Sarah replied that she was surprised that George had a letter from her sister Mary, and that she "was doing better than she was when she was *there before*. (My italics—this supports my suspicion that Mary was in Portland between 1875 and 1877.) She won't be satisfied anywhere. Lucy likes the place wonderful well." Sarah was probably right about Mary's dissatisfaction. Mary was soon back in Utah.

On November 6, 1884 Sarah wrote from Salt Lake City to George, "Mary is teaching painting and well met. It is very pretty work. She charges five dolors for learning. I should like to learn, but don't think I can afford it...here there is no money to be had for anything..." In family letters during the following twelve month period Mary was reported to be teaching painting in Salt Lake City, Bountiful, and Park City. It is hard to imagine that Mary learned painting before immigrating. Perhaps that is what she was doing in San Francisco or Portland, while she lived off the money from the liquidation of her millinery business.

Many mentions of Mary are found in the Oakey family correspondence during 1885. Bessie noted in a letter March 9, 1885 that Mary had rented a room from Sister Rich in Salt Lake. (That would be Sarah Pea Rich, Charles C. Rich's first wife.) Much was happening in all their lives. Polygamy persecution was at its apex and men with multiple wives were lying low. The LDS church had ordered them to live with one wife only, causing severe hardship for the rest. Mary's cousin Rosie Matthews Lambert was one of these, requiring support from Tom's family. Mary's father James was also keeping a low profile, spending time in Salt Lake to avoid the marshals in Paris, where ten men had been arrested in the tabernacle during stake conference in May. Mary's aversion to polygamy did not prevent her from sheltering her father, who was reported by Sarah to be staying with Mary in June. Tom's daughter Sarah Ann was engaged and preparing to be married that fall. And Mary's sister Sarah was preparing to move to Mesa, Arizona with their mother and Alfred to be reunited with her husband George Sirrine after over two years' separation.

And "Little Lucy" was pregnant. The family letters of the remainder of 1885 contained many disapproving comments on both Mary and her daughter.

The following April George wrote to Sarah, who was spending time in Salt Lake with her brother Tom, asking, "Is Mary in town yet and what is she doing?" This suggests that Mary may have been away again for a period. Sarah reported that Mary had passed Tom on the sidewalk and not even spoken to him, "…she is so high-toned." Sarah wrote to her parents several days later, that Mary and Little Lucy had come to Tom's house, but seeing their cousin Rosa visiting, had waited on the corner until she had left. Sarah had a chance to speak with Lucy, but not with Mary, who is "always dressed in the height of fashion." On May 14, Bessie wrote, "I am sorry that Mary and Lucy are so stiff. It would be much better for all if they would do right." I assume Lucy was beginning to show her pregnancy. In June, Mary and her beau, John Washington Thomas called on Tom's family. As if this were not awkward enough, in June James began staying with Mary and Lucy (and possibly John), probably in hiding. He had come in a hurry, unprepared, but had borrowed a shirt from Tom and got some garments from somewhere, so he was "all right."

On September 3, Bessie reported that Little Lucy was in Ogden, but didn't know what Mary was doing. On September 18, Lucy Ann Oakey, Tom's daughter, wrote to the Idaho cousins, "Mary is in Bountiful trying to get a class to learn painting, staying at Mrs. Calls. I think Little Lucy (now 18) is still at Ogden staying at Bishop Herrick's." Actually, Herrick was by then in the Stake Presidency. It appears that Little Lucy had been removed to Ogden to

hide her illegitimate pregnancy. She was five months along. I'm assuming that Brother Herrick stepped in to help based on an acquaintance with Mary and Lucy while on his mission 12 years earlier. I suspect this was not the first time he housed her. Unfortunately this did not work out as planned; Lucy soon wore out her welcome there. She evidently left Herricks' under a cloud and moved in with a family in Salt Lake.

In November 1885 Sarah was in Salt Lake on her way to Mesa, but staying a few days to attend Lucy Ann's wedding. In a letter to her brother Hyrum in Dingle, Idaho she wrote, "Little Lucy is down here at Birkinshaws. Mary is at Park City teaching painting. She expects to come in a day or two." Birkenshaws were neighbors of Tom's with connections to Nottingham.

In January Little Lucy was spotted by Rosie out of doors in Salt Lake, by then going into her ninth month of pregnancy. According to Bessie, who lived in Ogden and knew the Herricks well:

Rosa says Little Lucy is still walking the streets as bold as can be. She is staying at Birkenshaws and Mary is with her. She came as near as she ever will be, without being there, of getting into Prison. While up here in September she took several things from Mrs. Herrick. Her trunk was at Herricks, when the lady found her things missing, so she wrote to Lucy to make it right. But she send some saucy letters back. She kept it up for some time when up came a letter from Lucy with the key of her trunk, a telegram, and a letter from Mary to take the things out and not let the Davies' (this is Bessie's family) *know anything about it. I could tell you a good deal more if I could talk to you. Well, it is all righted now, and I do not know as I ought to have troubled you with it, but she threatened to give them away on polygamy. I hope she never will do that. Well, no more of this.*

Bishop Herrick had five wives, and with polygamy persecution at full throttle Little Lucy was apparently threatening blackmail.

One might wonder how the Herrick family got involved with Little Lucy in the first place. Bishop Herrick's history suggests that he had already known Mary and Little Lucy for years.

Lester James Herrick's family was among the first to join the Mormon Church, baptized in 1830 by Oliver Cowdery in Iowa on his mission to the Lamanites when Lester was three. The family experienced Far West, Nauvoo, and Mt. Pisgah before coming directly to Ogden in 1850. Lester became an important man there, serving as Weber County sheriff in 1858, County Commissioner in 1860, bishop in 1861, presiding bishop of Ogden in 1870, and four term mayor of Ogden beginning in 1871. In general conference in April, 1873 he was called on a mission to England. Shortly after arriving, he was made interim European Mission President until March, 1874, when Joseph F. Smith arrived. Herrick's mission ended June 14, 1874.

The period of Herrick's mission spans the possible dates when Mary and Little Lucy left Jim Etherington and came to Utah. I suspect Bishop Herrick may have been involved in helping

them in England. Perhaps he took Little Lucy under his wing when they all returned to Ogden in order to help Mary to create financial opportunities for herself. The thought popped into my head that he might have been looking for another wife, but from what I know about Mary, that would have been a fool's errand. I don't know how long Little Lucy stayed with this family, but she likely never returned after the unmarried pregnancy, considering the theft episode, "saucy" letters, and the threat to expose his polygamy at such an explosive time.

Lucy Ann informed Sarah, who by then was in Mesa, of the birth of Little Lucy's baby in 1886:

I know you want to know how Little Lucy is getting along. I have not seen her but I hear that she has a girl baby born January 29.

The baby was probably Iolanthe, though all other sources have Iolanthe's birth 1-2 years later, raising the possibility that this was an earlier daughter of whom we have no other record. However, in the 1910 census Little Lucy is reported to have had two children, two living. These would be Iolanthe and her younger sister Mabel. Perhaps once grown, Iolanthe lied to everyone about her age. Lucy Ann continued:

Her mother (Mary) *is with her and they are living in the little part of Birkenshaws house. They are very quiet and don't say anything about the baby.*

Park City newspaper advertisements prove that Mary was living in that town from 1887 to 1891, running a high class and successful millinery shop next door to the post office. Lucy appears with Mary in a photograph of this store, suggesting that she and the baby moved to Park City as well.

Another clue to Mary's activities appears in November, 1890 from an unlikely source, her Uncle William in Nottingham, James Oakey's elder brother. James had been requesting genealogical information from all his relatives in England, especially those who had died. Baffled by this request, but already suspicious that James may be participating in polygamy, William asked for clarification of a line in his letter. "You mention in your letter of Mary living in Park City--keeping a Millenary store--is this Mary your Wife, whom we knew here as such? If it is, I should be glad for a little more information about the affair..." Of course, although James was indeed separated from his wife Mary Cooper due to polygamy, it was not as William had suspected. In truth, when James came home from the temple in 1874

sealed to a second wife named Ann Carson, Mary Cooper left him and seldom lived with him again. But the Mary in William's question was James' daughter, not his wife.

In December, 1890 a brief classified ad appeared in the Salt Lake Tribune declaring that

"Mrs. M. Etherington, the fashionable milliner is selling off her summer stock of hats, bonnets, feathers, trimmings, etc. at cost on account of having to move to new quarters. Ladies can get rare bargains in millinery by calling on Mrs. M. Etherington opposite M.S. Ashheims."

Then on December 27, 1890 the ad reads:

"Millinery Business for sale. Owing to failing eyesight and to the advice of my physician, I have decided to sell my business entire. Everything first-class, the store, genuine bargain, the best location next to Post Office. Mrs. M. Etherington, Box 40, Park City, Utah."

Little Lucy, still not married, delivered a second daughter in Salt Lake City named Mabel on March 8, 1891. Evidently Mabel and Iolanthe had the same father since they both carried the surname Donaldson. I was able to locate five possible men in Salt Lake City and Ogden of the appropriate age. The most likely seems to be James M. Donaldson, born in 1865 in Scotland. In 1880 he was a miner living with his brother and sister-in-law in Bingham. In 1884 he would have been 19 years old, and possibly living in Salt Lake. He never married until he was 54. Other possibilities include C. M. Donaldson, a 26 year old carpenter and William Scott Donaldson, who moved from upstate New York to Ogden in 1885 to work for the railroad. He married another woman in 1890 when Lucy was five months pregnant with Mabel and moved immediately to Evanston and later to Park City. He was back in Ogden with his wife and six sons in 1900, where he worked the rest of his life as a plumber.

On January 13, 1892 Mary Cheales, a friend of Sarah's who lived in Park City, wrote:

You asked about your sister (Mary)*. I went to the shop to see her and told her about you folks. She says she had never heard from you. Today I went in again. Lucy is there taking care of business. Her mother has gone back to California. I think she is trying to sell out by what Lucy said.*

At this time, Lucy was 23, Iolanthe nearly five, and Mabel 10 months old. In that year Mary married John W. Thomas in Contra Costa County, California. Mary eventually took her daughter Lucy and her grandchildren with her to California to settle permanently. Lucy would not be married for two more years.

In November, 1892 Lizzie Clarke, a cousin of Mary's in England on her mother's side, discovered Mary's address through a chance acquaintance and surprised Mary with a letter after 18 years of separation. Lizzie had tried earlier to send a letter, but it was returned. From this I suspect that Mary had left Park City for California in the interval. This time she re-sent the earlier letter (which we don't have) with a brief note attached (which is in Sarah's collection.)

On December 22, 1892 Mary wrote to her father from 619 Oak Street, Oakland, California, enclosing the letters she had received from Lizzie. Now married for the third time, she signed the letter Mary C. Thomas, J.W. Thomas, P.O. Box 545, Oakland, Calif.

Lizzie wrote to Mary again in California from Nottingham on April 16, 1893.

Little Lucy returned from San Francisco to marry 27 year old William B. Nuthall of Salt Lake City on May 27, 1894 in Ogden. She probably brought Iolanthe and Mabel to live with her. Evidently they made their home in Ogden.

William was from England, just as Lucy was. William B. Nuthall's father, Aaron Nuthall was born in Basford in 1840, but by the 1841 census he was already living in Kirkby in Ashfield (15 miles north of Nottingham) where his future wife Ann Garner was born, and lived there until at least 1851, age 11. By 1861 he was an engine fireman living in Rugby, Warwickshire, living alone, although he had married Ann on January 27th of that year. The East Midlands Railway had been established in 1840, to connect the Rugby area to Nottingham to transport Nottinghamshire coal to Leicester. He would have been living there when the Oakeys left England in 1862, and it is unlikely that they knew each other. I do not think the Nuthall family were Mormons, since they eventually emigrated to Iowa, not to Utah. The Nuthall's first baby was William, who was born in Wandsworth, near London in July, 1866. I don't know why they were in London at the time, but suspect Aaron might have been training to become a train engineer. Their next two children were born in 1868 and 1870 in Rugby and in the 1871 census, Aaron was not at home, but his wife was listed as married to a railroad engineer.

I can't document the year of the Nuthall family's crossing to America from ships' records. Census reports, which I have found to be very inaccurate, give the year 1872 in the 1920 census and 1875 in the 1910 census. Their daughter Evelina was born in Iowa in 1875. The next older child, Ellen, was born in England in 1870, so either year of passage given in the census could be accurate. They had another son, George Aaron Nuthall, in Iowa in 1877, but were living in Topeka, Kansas by November 11, 1879, when Harry James Nuthall was born. In the 1880 U.S. Census, they were living in Colfax, New Mexico, where Aaron was working as a master Machinist. They had a month old son listed as "Ira" in the census, who was later known as Harry James Nuthall. William was 13, and called "W. John" in the census, a name that had been used in the 1871 English census as well. Another daughter, Alice Dorothy Nuthall was born in New Mexico in 1883. By 1885 they had been back in Topeka for about a year when they were counted in a Kansas state census. Aaron's profession was listed as engineer. William, who was by then 19 was listed as a machinist. The Nuthall family lived three houses down the street from Joseph Heslop, also an engineer, who had an 18 year old son Robert A. Heslop, a machinist like William. Robert was 18, and later stood as a witness to William's marriage to Lucy. I believe the two of them moved together at some point to Ogden, where they got employment on the Union Pacific Railroad. The first evidence of their arrival comes from newspaper articles in 1891. An unclaimed letter addressed to A. B. Nuthall was waiting at the Salt Lake Post Office. He

had two weeks to claim it before it went to the dead letter file. That would have been Aaron, William's father. It is possible that the Williams family had moved by then from Topeka. Since Aaron was a train engineer, it is also possible that he did not live there at the time, but visited William on his train trips. We do know, however, that Aaron, his wife, and his youngest two daughters, named Alida and Alice, were living in Salt Lake before 1898.

In a series of notices in the Ogden Daily Standard and the Salt Lake Herald for several days in October, 1891, Bob Heslop was listed among those who had an undeliverable telegram waiting at the telegraph office in Ogden. William seems to have first settled in Salt Lake. He was mentioned in a brief article in the Salt Lake Herald reporting a "pleasant" dance given by the Association of Machinists at the G.A.R. Hall (Grand Army of the Republic was the organization of American Civil War Veterans). Olsen's full band provided the music and there were festivities until an early hour of the next morning. William Nuthall was on the reception committee. On May 8, 1892 W. B. Nuthall was elected from his Democratic Party Second Precinct to be an alternate delegate to the State Convention.

I do not know how or where William became acquainted with Lucy Etherington. It appears likely that they met in Salt Lake City, so it is interesting that they were married in Ogden. Perhaps it had something to do with Bob Heslop. Their marriage certificate states that William B. Nuthall was from Salt Lake City and that Lucy was from San Francisco. She had evidently been living there with her mother and two daughters, and returned for the wedding. I have not been able to find information on the other witness to the ceremony, J. F. McCarron. The wedding was on May 27, 1894.

Mary telegraphed her brother Fred from Antioch, California in 1897 on New Year's Day regarding their father's death the evening before, "Impossible to come, kiss father for me."

Twelve year old Alida Nuthall was mentioned on February 18, 1898 in the Salt Lake Herald for reading an address by Abraham Lincoln in a school program. According to the same newspaper her sister Alice graduated from Bryant High School that year as valedictorian. Both girls eventually married Utah men. Alice settled in Thistle. Alida lived in Salt Lake. Their older sisters never left Kansas. In 1900 Aaron was still working out of Salt Lake City as a railroad engineer. Their mother Ann was again living in Topeka with her daughter, Annie McKowen in 1920, but died at age 84 in Salt Lake City, probably having moved in with Alida for her last years.

U.S. Census for 1900 lists William and Lucy Nuthall living in Ogden on 23rd street and Wall Avenue, two blocks from the old Union Station with Iolanthe Donaldson age 13 and Mabel Donaldson age 10. Both are listed as step-daughters. Lucy claimed two children with two living, but Iolanthe's birth is given as January 1887, not 1886 as suggested in the Sarah Oakey letter collection. Sometime after this, the girls both changed their last name from Donaldson to Nuthall.

Mary and John Thomas appear in the United States 1900 Census living in Contra Costa, California. According to the document they had been married for eight years. Mary is

listed as an immigrant from England, arrival date of 1860 (which is impossible) and interestingly, as the mother of three children, only one living. John W. Thomas was listed as an orchardist, an immigrant from Wales.

From his application for a civil war military pension we learn that John Thomas was a 5'8'' brown-eyed gray haired divorced Protestant salesman of fair complexion living in San Francisco, disabled by "chronic inflammatory intestinal catarrh" (probably ulcerative colitis) for which he received a pension of $12 per month. He had immigrated to the United States at age six from Llantwitvairdre, Glamorgan, Wales with a large family, enlisting in the Pennsylvania infantry just as the Civil War ended.

In 1900, Mary was 57 and living in rural Lane Tree District, Contra Costa, California with John. However, she also lived in Salt Lake City again at various times in the 1900's.

From an Ogden city directory we know that William B. Nuthall was still living there in 1902 and working for "S. P. and Co.," which I take to be the Southern Pacific Railroad. Iolanthe and Mabel Nuthall were living with him, having adopted his surname, but strangely, Lucy was not listed at that address. The same directory lists him at that address in 1903, but without the girls or Lucy. William's brother George Aaron was living on 22nd street, having moved to Ogden from Elko, Nevada to work for the Southern Pacific. The 1904 directory has William residing at 202 Tracy Avenue in Ogden with Iolanthe, who was then 17 and with his little brother Harry age 24, who was an apprentice with the railroad. Neither Mabel nor Lucy were there at that time. George was still on 22nd street. The directory also listed their father Aaron as having died in Weber County at age 64, so he may have lived at least for a time in Ogden, too. He was buried back home in Topeka.

Tom and Mary in Salt Lake City

In 1905 Iolanthe wrote a letter to her cousin "Sunny Jim," probably James Warren Sirrine, about a visit she had made to Dingle, Idaho, evidence that Mary continued to stay in touch with her Oakey family. On November 4 of that year, Lucy Ann wrote from Salt Lake City that her Aunt Mary was "still in town."

On August 23, 1907 Mary Thomas was in Dingle to sign Sarah's album. She was by then calling herself "Mary Cooper Thomas." Tom was there as well and signed the album with a joke about his rheumatism.

Mary was still in Salt Lake City on October 21, 1907 when she sent her love through Lucy Ann to her brother-in-law George Sirrine, Sarah's husband, who was gravely ill. After George's death in January 1908, Tom and Jim Oakey went to Dingle, Idaho for the funeral, but Mary stayed in Salt Lake with Tom's wife Ann, who had also been ill. Ann wrote to let Tom know that Mary had offered to take care of their household in Salt Lake to allow them to travel to southern California with their daughter Vinnie. On March 22, 1908 Mary wrote a letter to one of her

brothers in Dingle (probably Fred since it contains news about Tom and Hyrum, and assumes that he can convey greetings to Sarah). This letter was written on business letterhead of the Ensign Gold Mining Company, Salt Lake City, Utah. It is likely that she was writing from Salt Lake since she gave news of Tom and Ann and suggested that Fred should "come down for conference." Tom and Ann had just returned from their trip to California, where they had picked their own oranges and visited Vinnie's family in Los Angeles. She was still in Salt Lake in October, when Lucy Ann mentioned to Sarah that Mary sends her love.

At the time of the U.S. 1910 Census, William Nuthall was living at 1862 Howard Street in San Francisco, working as a railroad machinist, with Lucy age 40, Iolanthe age 22 working as a saleswoman in a store, and Mabel age 18, not working. The census noted that Lucy and William had been married 25 years, implying that they had been together since 1885. They had not, but were probably presenting themselves as a less complicated family.

At that time Mary and John Thomas were living in Los Angeles. John listed his profession in the census as a laborer in a steel works, but he was out of work at the time, probably retired. Mary was working "on her own account" out of their rented home as a milliner.

In February of 1911 Mary's brother Tom made a train trip to southern California where he visited his daughter Vinnie and spent considerable time with Mary and John Thomas. In his diary Tom wrote: "Sister Mary came up," suggesting she may have returned with him to Salt Lake, but she must have back in Los Angeles by May, since Tom received a letter from there that month written by Mary, which he forwarded it to the family in Dingle.

City directories in San Francisco show that William and Lucy were still there in 1911 and 1912. When their brother Jim Oakey died in Ogden on December 22, 1911, Tom notified Mary by telegram. She did not come for the burial. He wrote to her the following January.

On September 7, 1913 Tom wrote to Sarah that he was glad to hear from Mary, the first he had heard for a long time.

Mary and John had moved back to the bay area and were living in Oakland by May 13, 1916 when Mary corresponded with her youngest brother Hyrum about the division of their father James Oakey's property in Paris, Idaho after his death. She instructed him to sell the property immediately rather than hold out for a higher price, since she needed the money. She signed the letter Mary Cooper Thomas, 1319 Brush Street, Oakland, California. William and Lucy were still in San Francisco, where William had registered that year to vote, not declaring a party. By 1918 the two girls had moved out of the house, living together in Oakland, where Iolanthe was a 31 year old vaudeville artist and Mabel was 27, and both single. I do not know whether they were living with their grandparents or making it on their own. By the 1930 census, Iolanthe had been married to George E. Hollis from Alabama for 12 years, so she must have gotten married around 1918.

Lucy and William owned a farm in Oakley, Contra Costa County, in which they were living in 1920. Mary and John Thomas were still living in Oakland. Mary was 77 and John a year

older. It is not known when he died, though it was before Mary's passing. He was buried in a veteran's cemetery in Yountville, Napa County, California.

In 1923 Lucy Ann Oakey reported having sent $25 to Mary, who had been having financial problems. The next year Mary corresponded with Lucy Ann in Salt Lake.

Mary died at age 81 in Pittsburg, California, on June 1, 1925, presumably living with her daughter Lucy. William's mother Ann Nuthall died in Salt Lake City later that December.

On June 16, 1927 at the age of 36, Mabel married Edward Uriah Bryner, the first marriage for both in Stockton, California. They must have later divorced, for in 1940 Mabel was living in Pittsburg, California with Edward Adams, a man from Texas.

In 1930, Iolanthe and Edward Hollis were living in San Francisco, where she worked as a merchant and he as a mill hand.

William B. Nuthall died March 27, 1930 in Alameda at age 63 before the census taker visited their home. "Little Lucy" was listed in the 1930 census, still living on their farm, but was in Pittsburg, California in 1931, probably having moved in with her daughter Mabel.

In 1940 Mabel was still in Pittsburg, married to Edward Adams, a fireman in the asphalt business. She was 48 and he was 50, but Lucy was living in San Francisco with Iolanthe and George Hollis. Iolanthe died in 1947 at the age of 59. Lucy was 85 when she died in Contra Costa County August 14, 1952. Mabel lived to the age of 97, dying in 1988.

I have found no evidence that either Iolanthe or Mabel had children, so Mary likely has no living descendants.

Mary Cooper Oakey Etherington James Thomas was not a typical Mormon pioneer woman. This may be why she largely disappeared from her family's history. But she was a strong woman and an interesting one. From the day she refused to be baptized in the Trent River to her request to liquidate her share in her father's estate she was a woman who went her own way. She left her family for love. She migrated to America on her own terms, taking a young daughter and leaving an infant's grave and a husband behind. She supported herself by establishing successful businesses in at least five locations (Salt Lake City, Park City, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Portland). She was married three times, stayed in contact with her family on her own terms throughout her life, and lived to an old age. We are lucky to have her family's many letters, which give us a tantalizing look at an admirable woman. True to Mary's character, much of her life remains a mystery. She probably would have preferred it that way.

Rosie

Rosina Matthews Cannon Lambert – October 7, 1852-December 18, 1939

Also known variously as Rose, Rosy, Rosie, and Rosa, she was born October 7, 1852 in Radford, a suburb of Nottingham, to Mary and James Matthews. James was born in Scotland, married Mary Oakey in Nottingham, and worked as a leather dresser according to the 1851 census. Mary kept a grocery shop.

Rosie Matthews

Before Rosie's birth her parents had lived in Stourbridge, Manchester and Worchester before moving back to Nottingham. Her oldest brother James, age 24, had moved out of the home by the time she was born. Her siblings Mary Ann, William, and Joseph were working as servants, Edwin, age eight, was in school. The Matthews family were not Mormons, but at about that time Rosie's grandmother Catherine Oakey was baptized and her grandfather, James Oakey Sr., was already a member of the church. Rosie also had a six year old brother named John. When Rosie was seven, her mother died.

I could not identify her father and siblings, except James who had moved to Alfreton and had four children, in the 1880 census—perhaps they had moved back to Ireland. Rosie was living with her Uncle James Oakey's Mormon family in St. Mary's Parish, Nottingham, listed as James' daughter "Rosy Oakey," and attending school. By then she was eight years old, about the same age as her cousin Sarah. Evidence that she regarded herself Sarah's sister is in Rosie's personal copy of the New Testament, in which she wrote, "This Book belongs to Miss Rosey *Oakey*." (Italics mine.) Above that inscription is her mother's name, Mary Matthews, written in a more mature handwriting; beneath that is the Oakey family's address on Skinner Street. However, on the inside of the back cover is written, "Rosie Matthews, aged 10," which must have been written after her birthday on October, 1862, at least six months after she left the Oakey family to live with a Mormon apostle in Liverpool.

James Oakey had become a local Mormon leader, often hosting missionaries such as Joseph C. Rich and receiving visits by church leaders from Manchester and Liverpool including the apostles Charles C. Rich and George Q. Cannon, President of the European Mission at the time. When it came time for the James Oakey family to immigrate to Utah, Rosie did not travel with them, but was sent on April 8, 1862 by "cab" to Liverpool to live with the Cannon family, who eventually adopted her. She was with the Cannons on the dock in Liverpool to see the Oakey family off on the ship John J. Boyd. Her older brother. Edwin (Ted) Matthews sailed with them.

Elizabeth Hoagland

At the time, President Cannon had only one wife, Elizabeth Hoagland, who was only 29 years old when she took Rosie in. Elizabeth had lost her first baby, George Q. Cannon, Jr., at 9 months of age after moving to Salt Lake City from her husband's post as California Mission President in 1856. She had left a five year old named John and a three year old named Abraham in Utah, and taken her one year old named Georgianna with her to England. It is unclear why she would desire another child at this point—perhaps Rosie was mature enough to help with the babysitting; maybe she was missing her two little boys. Before Elizabeth left Liverpool she bore another baby, George Hoagland Cannon, on May 21, 1863. During that summer she took Rosie and her two youngest children back to Salt Lake City, leaving her husband to follow in 1864. Two and a half year old Georgiana died in September crossing the plains and little George died just after Christmas at seven months of age. Of Elizabeth's 11 children, five died as infants. And her son David died at age 21 while serving as a missionary in Seiffersdorf, Germany in 1892. According to a telegram from his mission president, David had been healthy and productive until without warning he died at 9 o'clock in the morning. His embalmed body was shipped to Salt Lake City, where he received an impressive funeral in the Tabernacle in connection with which a memorial service was held in recognition of the other sixty-eight Mormon missionaries who had died abroad in service.

In 1865 James Oakey and two of his sons had spent a winter in Bear Lake Valley and sent for his wife Mary and his two youngest children, Sarah and Hyrum, to join them. On June 16th Mary dictated a letter to the Cannons asking that they permit Rosie to accompany the family to Paris, Idaho. But by then Rosie had been adopted into the Cannon family and she did not go.

In 1866 Elder Cannon began publishing the *Juvenile Instructor*, which he owned and managed until his death in 1901, when the family sold it to the LDS Sunday School. From 1867 to 1874 the apostle was the managing editor of the *Deseret News*. Rosina worked for him on the *Juvenile Instructor*, helping on the very first copy when she was 24. She is said to have been the first female typesetter in Utah. Closely connected to magazine and newspaper publishing was the paper industry. Brigham Young had at great expense imported a paper mill machine and put it into the defunct sugar factory in Sugarhouse in 1860, asking in the April, 1861 conference that all women in the church save cast off articles of cotton, linen, and flax for paper making. For years the paper mill struggled due to insufficient resources until 1869 when the railroad began to bring needed raw materials for papermaking. George Q. Cannon, who was in charge of both industries appointed two young sons of his sister, Mary Cannon Lambert, to learn the paper making trade and take over the business. The younger of these nephews was George Cannon Lambert, who had been born in Florence, Nebraska and crossed the plains at 18 months of age. Worried that the Irishman paper expert Michael Grace was keeping the secret process all to himself,

President Cannon asked George to leave the newspaper and learn the process for himself. In the summer of 1869, the days of '47 parade featured a lavish *Deseret News* float carrying a printing press and a paper mill float showing off a paper press.

Rosina Lambert, standing

In May 1871 George Cannon Lambert married Mary Alice Needham and on November 4, 1872 he added as his second wife his adopted cousin from the *Deseret News* and *Juvenile Instructor*, Rosina Matthews Lambert. In 1874 Rosie had a baby girl named Edna. On Christmas Eve, 1877 Leroy Cannon Lambert was born, but he died 13 months later. Mamie was born December 17, 1885 and a boy named Sidney was born January 22, 1891. The three girls lived to adulthood, but Sidney died of kidney failure when he was sixteen. Interestingly he was sealed posthumously in 1912 to Anna Johanna Pead, who had also died single at age 17 a year before Sidney's death. I assume they had been teenage friends.

I have no evidence of contact between Rosie and her Oakey relatives between 1865 and 1885, although it is likely that she was at least in contact with Tom and Ann Oakey and their family, who lived only six or seven blocks away from her. It is likely, however, that as a Cannon, Rosie had run in much more elite circles. That was to change. In 1885, tensions over polygamy reached a high point. That year cohabitation had become illegal and many polygamists were chased down, hauled into court, and jailed. Around May that year the Church advised polygamists to live with only one wife. Virtually abandoned with two children and a third on the way, Rosie was probably not able to work and ran into financial trouble. It is clear that George was not living with her, whether habitating exclusively with his first wife, hiding out, or sitting in prison. During this year Rosie appeared in many family letters in Sarah Oakey's collection.

She was at Tom's house in May during visits by Sarah and Sarah's sister Mary. Bessie Oakey wrote the following week to Sarah: "Give my love to Rose and tell her to cheer up. There is a better time ahead, the Lord will not let it last forever, he will make an opening when he thinks we have suffered enough."

Sarah wrote to her parents about the same time:

There is a cheap excursion to Ogden the last of May. Rosa and the folks are talking of going...Rosa came and spent the day with her little girls. She feels very bad yet because she has to keep away from home, but she has better clothes and is better off in most ways when I saw her. She says Mary and Lucy are getting on first rate. They visit a great deal with Libbie Pratt.

Evidently Rosie had been abandoned to protect her husband from the marshals and was suffering financially. Not only Tom's family but also their sister Mary and her daughter

Lucy were in touch with Rosie. On June 4 Sarah wrote to her mother, "…Rose has not been to see us lately. Father goes to see her sometimes." In December Bessie wrote to Sarah, "I must write and see how Rosie is getting on for I feel anxious about her." Rosie was nearing the end of her pregnancy. Then on February 10, 1886 Lucy Ann Oakey wrote,

Aunt Rosie has been to see us three times with her bouncing baby girl. She is as fat as butter and the baby is named Mamie Canon Lambert....Pa has very little work. The Laryers and Dupty Marchals are the only ones that is very busey. They convicted brother McMurrin yesterday and he is to receive his sentence on the 20th of the month. He will no doubt get 6 months and $300 fine, the same as the rest. They give them all the law allows and if the new bill passes there is no knowing what will become of all of us, there is a five hundred dollar reward out for George Q. Cannon and twenty men searched the Gardo house and all the largest places in town for President Taylor, but of corse they did not find him. They have got Hyrum Goff and Will Jenkins of West Jordon. There trial is next Tuesday…

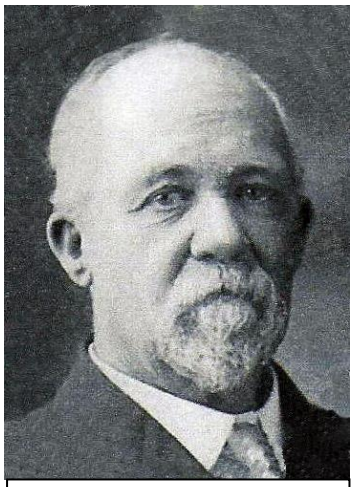
Rosie and her son Sidney Cannon Lambert around 1893

Times were tough, but the baby was fine.

There was no more mention of Rosie in family letters until 1891, when Ann Oakey, Tom's wife, saw Rosie, who told her that her father President Cannon had seen Mother (Mary Cooper Oakey) at Bear Lake Stake Conference and she had looked very well. Thereafter Rosie is mentioned in 1907, 1908, when she visited Dingle with her cousins Edna and Lucy Ann Oakey Evans.

Rosina Cannon Lambert

In 1907 George Cannon Lambert applied for a US Passport. He listed his destination address as C. S. Penrose, 295 Edgelane, Liverpool, likely the mission home. He was described as 59 years old, five feet seven inches, full forehead, gray eyes, aquiline and broad nose, small mouth, fairly prominent chin, gray hair, ruddy complexion with a China beard. He was traveling with Mary Alice Needham, his first wife. Rosie did not go. George died in 1917. When Rosie's cousin Sarah began to spend much of her time in Salt Lake City in the 1930s, she and Rosie visited each other frequently, sharing their old memories and their fondness for Primary. Like Sarah, Rosie had served as



George Cannon Lambert

primary president for many years in her 7th ward and was also the stake primary president. She worked as a temple square guide and for 20 years as a worker in the Salt Lake temple, living for 50 years in her home on First West. Rosie died December 18, 1939 at the age of 87.

Mary Ellen Sirrine

20 May 1866-24 August 1937

Known to her family as Ellie or Ella, she was the ninth baby born to Esther Ann Crismon and George Warren Sirrine and their first after migrating to Paris, Idaho. She travelled with them to colonize Mesa, Arizona in 1877 when she was eleven. Since she has no descendants to tell her story and figures prominently in the lives of my great grandparents, George Edward Sirrine and Sarah Oakey, it seems appropriate for me to tell it. Nearly everything known about her is derived from the letters in the Sarah Oakey collection. She was 15 when she first wrote to her sister-in-law Sarah, in which she mentioned that she was planning to start school. She wrote or was mentioned in 35 different letters in Sarah's collection, far more than any other of George's siblings, although she was 13 years younger than either of them.

On March 5, 1882 Ellie wrote from the Gila Indian Reservation in Sacaton, Arizona on the Gila River, thirty miles south of Mesa. She was visiting Gertrude Pomeroy and two other girls from Mesa, who were employed by the government to teach domestic skills to 70 students in the Indian school. She had been taken there by a young man whom she had known for nearly a year. They stayed a few days, attending the Indian church and a dance at Casa Grande, ten miles further south.

Her brother's sister Belle Bloomer wrote on May 2nd to George and Sarah in Bear Lake Valley, Idaho to inform them that their sister Ellie had married Emmet Hopkins, a young blacksmith. Ellie was not quite sixteen years old at the time, a year older than her mother had been at marriage, but as will be shown later it is likely that this was not necessarily a happy announcement, at least for her parents.

May 11 Ellie wrote:

... I suppose you have herd that I was marred, yes I have been marred a short time. We are stoping here at Ma's until our house is so we can live in it. Mr. Hopkins has a nice lot just acrost the rode from Ma. He has it lade off nice and seads planted. He has gon to Pheonix today for his tools, his shop is done and he is very anctious to begin work. He has been living at Pima Agency two years clerking, he has give up that and came to Mesa to try and make us a home. I don't think it will be long before we have a nice place. I have been aquainted with Mr Hopkins just one year and I am very well pleased and contented with him and as long as we are suited I think evry body else aught to be....Mr Hopkins joins me in sending love to you…

Ellie Hopkins

Robert Emmett Hopkins was born about 1861 in St. Georges Parish, Accomack, Virginia to William H. A. and Keturah Hopkins. His father was a merchant with a considerable estate worth $8,000 at the time of the 1860 census. His mother died when he was eight and he was raised by a stepmother, Mary Ellen Johnson, and was still living with his parents in 1880. I do not know how Emmett ended up in Arizona. Ellie called Mr. Hopkins "Emet" in later letters as the family became more familiar with him. He often identified himself as R. E. Hopkins. Ellie may have met him when she went away to boarding school the previous year and he is almost certainly the same the young man who had taken her to the Indian school in March.

There may be a hint of defiance in Ellie's phrase "evry body else aught to be…" It appears that he moved to Mesa and onto the Sirrine family compound to make the best of the situation. Ellie wrote in July that their house was nearly finished, with three rooms it was handy and convenient. They were to have a baby boy eight months after their marriage. I calculate that he was probably conceived about the time of the trip to the Gila River reservation.

On June 6, 1882 Ellie wrote again to Sarah and George to tell them that the Salt Lake City wives of her polygamist father had come to visit the Mesa family. Sixty family members ate and danced in a bowery made for the occasion of Ma and Pa's 29th anniversary. She added details of her marriage: there was no reception, just an 18 mile ride to Phoenix and back the same day. They were getting the shingles on the house. "Mr. Hopkins" was already working in his blacksmiths shop. On June 30 Ellie wrote that their three room house was done. I assume Emmett had learned the blacksmith trade in Virginia because he did not seem to have been practicing it in Arizona before joining the Sirrine family. Eight months after they were married, their son Willie was born on New Year's Day, 1883. He was said to have weighed 16 lbs. with black hair and eyes, a very pretty child. Ellie was too sick for two months after the birth to get out of bed.

Soon afterward George and Sarah heard from Ellie.

Mesa City Maricopa Co A.T. March 12, 1883

Dear Brother George

…I would have answered (sooner*) if sickness had not kept me from it, my baby is over two monthes old I have been in bed too week* (weak)*. It has onely been the last three dayes that I have been able to be up. My baby is one of the finest babies. He weighes 16 pounds evry body that sees him seys he is a very pretty child. He hass black hear and eyes very dark brown he is a very good baby...*

It is true that women in earlier times were kept in bed much longer after parturition than now, but to be too weak to write a letter two months after childbirth suggests that something was wrong. Her sister Della had written the previous week that Ellie was feeling

poorly and that their almost 12 year old sister Maude was staying with her. Three days after Ellie's letter Maude herself wrote that Ellie's "helth is very poorley now." Her Ma (Esther Ann Crismon) was also dangerously sick. The Crismon relatives from Salt Lake were still in Mesa.

Seemingly back to normal, Ellie wrote again July 31 that they were all well. The weather was remarkably pleasant for an Arizona July. The "boys" had thrown a party for her and Emmett at their house and they had attended a dance and a splendid circus, which stayed three days.

Then in October Ellie lost her 9 month old baby Willie to cholera. He had been sick just three days. On November 16th Ellie wrote a heart rending letter describing the deaths of Willie and her sister Maude, who had died two weeks earlier in detail. Her brother George had just arrived from Bear Lake.

Mesa City, Maricopa Co. A.T.

My Dear Sister Sarah

It has been some time since I wrote a letter to you so I thought I would write to let you know how we are geting along...George arrived at home well ...though it was a sad meeting. He met us all with sad hearts just losing my sweet little darling Willie and our lovely sweet Maud, and Oh it was so harde to part with them and Ma away. Little Willie was just 9 months and three days old, Maudie darling 12 years. Oh they were sweet children. Everybody liked them. They was allways so happy and gay.

One Friday afternoon Emmet and I took the little fellow, put him in an iron wheelbarrow and took him out to pick peaches. He plade and seemed so well and he eat two peaches. That nite he took sick in the nite. He had two passages and the next morning it cept coming from him so fast and a good eal of blood at evry passage. So it got so bad nothing would help him. He was sick from Friday untill Wendsday at daybrake. Tuesday nite Seaneth Passey come to set up with him. He cept reaching to the bed for me and he cept his eyes on the bed all the time. Seaneth come up to me and sed Ella, little Willie wants you. I got up and he nursed as good as he ever did in his life so we thought he was better. They tolde me to lay down again. It seemed as though I could never go to sleep and the little darling boy still reaching for me. So I droped off to sleep and Seaneth and Bell come to my bed and sed Ella the little darling wants you, so I jumped like I was shot. I took him. He gave me one sweet look and smiled and I tried to get the niple in his mouth and his gomes was set and his little eye comenced jerking. I cried out Oh my baby is dying. They took him from me and he was in a spasm. They put him in Warm water and he never come out of it untill he died. Oh he was a good babe and a sweet childe. He looked handsome. He was so nacherl after he died.

Maud was sick in bed 20 days. She was helpless most all the time. It seemed so hard to lose her. She was liked so well. She was as large as I am. She was the loveliest corpse that I ever seen. They both looked just as if they were asleep. Maudie's last words was Ma Oh Ma. She died without a strugle...didn't we have our hands and heart full, and mother away...

From your loving Sister, Ella Hopkins

In the Mesa cemetery is a modest tombstone that reads: "Willie, born Jan.1.1883, died Oct.3.1883."

On June 8, 1884 George wrote that Ellie and Hopkins had moved to Tempe to work a farm on shares for the year.

There is no mention of Ellie in the letter collection after this point until March 29, 1885, when George wrote to Sarah that Ellie had gone to the California Women's Hospital in San Francisco. He had not heard from her except that she had arrived safely. In May he told Sarah the family had received a letter from Ellie, and that she was highly encouraged. His understanding of her problem was that her milk had never dried up since her baby had died. The doctor said the first thing to do was to dry the milk up and then he would cure her right away.

On May 14th Sarah received a letter from the Women's Hospital written in behalf of "Miss Hopkins" by her nurse. Ellie had been there for 6 weeks and was improving and would like to see Sarah. The writer explained how to take the train from Montpelier to Oakland, the ferry across the bay and the street car to the hospital. In July, George relayed to Sarah that Ella felt she would need to stay four more months and hoped that Sarah could swing by the hospital to see her on the way to Mesa. Sarah did not go to Mesa that year. Neither did Ellie. On August 19th, George wrote "...Hopkins is getting discouraged...thinking of sending for Ella if they can't do anything for her by this time..."

But she remained in the hospital.

On April 8, 1886 she wrote this tragic letter to her family in Mesa from the hospital in San Francisco.

April 8, 1886

My Dear Sisters and Mother

Yours and little Flo's letter was received yesterday and very much appreciated it found me very miserable. I have been in bed for 7 days, though I am picking up in flesh, I have some more strength than I did have a month ago, but to tell you the trouth I don't think there is very much improvement if eny lately. I sometimes feel very searous and bad. Dr. Scott talked with me yesterday. He told me he was very much afraid I would haft to take the chances and have something more done, though He would wate two ore three days longer and see how things looked and then he would tell me what had to be done of corse they want to do all they can for me, one thing if I should haft to have that operation it would be a very serious afare, and if I don't have the operation it is a searious afare. My life is almost a birden to me I am in such misery and have pane most of the time. I never will be able to have eny comfort as long as I am in this fix, and will not be able to do a day's work, so my lot is very hard and if I haft to undergo the operation and get over it then I would be well, but there is onely one chance out of 10 for me to get over it all right, for there is so much truble that it would be such a large

operation, and the most dangerous operation that women haft to have. Well I realize that it is very necessary for me to have it done if I could onely stand it and live though it all, then all wold be well, there is one little woman just my size and two years older than I. She had just abought the same kind and lived through, though she had a hard struggle for her life three months ago she had the same kind of a operation as my capitol then after she got up and around she felt just abought like I do, then they see there had to be something more done for her, so they operated on her and she nerley died but come through it is one month since her operation and the Drs. says she will be a well women. Oh she is a happy woman, she is a friend of mine, then there was another, she was a single woman but she died, though Mrs Logan says that single women was worse of than I am. Well all I can say is God have mircy on us poore wimmen, well I don't know what will become of me though I trust god May bring me through all my truble and let me return home to My Husband and all of you. I often think Ma how ancious you all are abought me well we will all put our trust in the Lord for he can do all things.

Ma write and tell me how you feel in regard to what I have just sed abought my sickness. Oh wonte I be happy when the time comes for me to come home. Good by for this time.

So Emmet was still hanging in there. He likely continued to live in Mesa at least until May 2, 1886, when he escorted Sarah as far as San Francisco on her train trip from Mesa to Montpelier. Sarah did not visit her, but Emmet found work and stayed with Ellie in San Francisco. The surgery was performed on May 6th, likely a hysterectomy and removal of ovaries. George wrote to Sarah that "Hop" had written to him the next day. The surgery had taken 2½ hours and they took all the diseased parts out of her. Sarah received another letter from George on May 18. It was now 13 days and they had said she would be out of danger if she made 12. "Hope is theare. He has a Job of worke theare. They seem to think that after the 12 day she will gane strangth very fast. She has now ben theare 14 months."

In August George reported that Ella was feeling better than anytime she had been there. She dressed herself and sat up nearly all day. She had been in the hospital 18 months.

On October 12th George wrote:

…Ela got home last Saturday. She is looking better than I expected to see her altho she is terrible weak. Mrs Logan came home with her. She is the woman that Ela ust to talk about so much. When Ela went away she weighed 120 lbs. She was down to 50 lbs. when she was at the worst. Now she weighes 90 lbs. She is able to be up and around some...

On April 7, 1887 Ella wrote to announce her sister Della's marriage. She was now feeling better, able to do her house work.

On May 28, 1888 her mother Esther Ann Crismon wrote a long letter to George and Sarah. Ellie was taken back to San Francisco—they suspected another abscess.

That was not the end of her illness. Her brother Warren wrote on February 10, 1889 that Ella was back in San Francisco, but pretty well, waiting on a sick woman for $1 a day. In April, Ella wrote that she was feeling fine, had never weighed so much.

Esther Ann wrote to George and Sarah giving updates on all of her children on March 10, 1889:

"*Just had a letter from Elley. She is feeling splendid. Her helth is as good as it was when she was a Girl. Hopkins has left the country. Nobody knows where he is. I hope wee wont ever see him again. He drank and gambelled and spent ever thing they had then Morgaged ther plase and then skipt without leaving eneything for her. I think as soon as he found she never intend to live with him eny more he left but there isent eney thin left for her. Poore girl she had beter left him long ago. She tried so hard to get along. They had a nise plase but it is all gone. Well I don't know when she will bee home...*

On October 28, 1890 Ella wrote a letter to Sarah from the Women's Hospital. After a visit to Dingle, Ellie had felt poorly, then gotten worse in Ogden, so she stopped in at the hospital in San Francisco on the way back to Mesa. They promptly admitted her and at the time of the letter she had been in bed there for five weeks.

It is difficult to know what could have caused such an illness. People didn't speak specifically in those days about symptoms. Her prolonged recovery from the birth of an unusually large baby suggests the possibility of birth trauma such as a rectovaginal fistula. In an age without antibiotics, this could have caused difficult pelvic abscesses, which could cause the need for hospitalization and surgeries for draining and debridement. However, this does not seem to fit well with the two years of apparently good health after her initial recovery. George's explanation of the illness to Sarah does not make much sense either. How could it have been a problem with nursing nearly a year and a half after the baby died? One serious cause of severe, chronic pelvic infection leading to a hysterectomy could be the result of gonorrhea. In any case, this was a terrible and prolonged ordeal for Ellie.

It is not clear exactly when Ellie's marriage ended.

In 1894 a man of the appropriate age named Robert Emmett Hopkins was listed as a blacksmith on the voting rolls of Lewiston, California. He was described as having a dark complexion, dark hair, and blue eyes, similar to the description of their infant son, Willie. Lewiston is a small gold mining town between Mt. Shasta and Weaverville with a bridge across the Trinity River in northern California.

Emmett married a 33 year old Norwegian woman named Sophia Anderson in 1896 and in 1900 was living with her in a house he owned without a mortgage. He was employed as a machinist in Everett, Washington. They had no children. Emmett died before 1920, when Sophia was shown in the census as a widow. In 1930 she was living in Marion, Washington with her brother, Charles. She died five years later.

On January 1, 1895 Ellie married Jesse Arthur Steele, a carpenter and the son of a carpenter, John Steele of Putnam, Indiana. Jesse's mother Mary Jane had died when he was 18 months old and he was raised by a Danish stepmother, Margret Anne Wylie.

Jesse and Ellie were living in Mesa in 1910, where Ellie was a milliner, but moved to Los Angeles before 1920. Jesse died in 1927 and Ellie on August 24, 1937. She was buried in Mesa.

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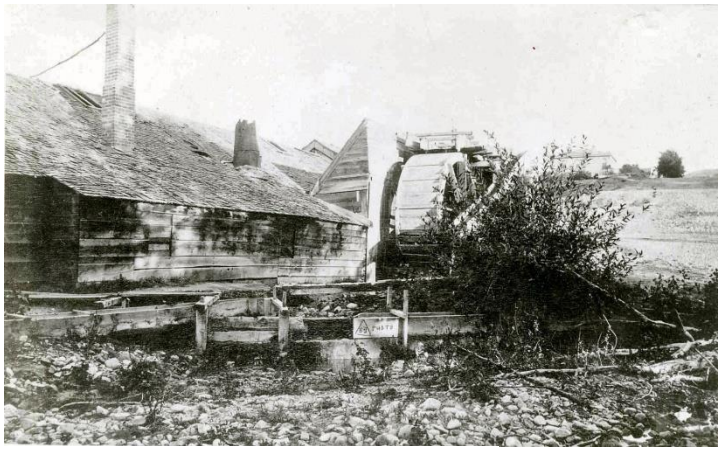
Oakey Cabin



Crismon Mill